Barcode : 2020030003405
Title - Siddha_Bharati_The_Rosary_Ofindology
Author - Siddheshwar_Varma
Language - ENGLISH
Pages - 303
Publication Year - 1953
Barcode EAN.UCC-13
2020030003405

विश्वेश्वरानन्द भारतभारती ग्रन्थमाला–१

Vishveshvaranand Indological Series–1

Editor :
VISHVA BANDHU
Shastri, M.A., M.O.L. (Pb.)
O. d' A. (Fr.), Kt. C. T. (It.)

Printed at
The V. V. R. INSTITUTE PRESS
and Published for
The V. V. R. Institute P. & P. Organisation
By DEVA DATTA, Shastri, V. V., V. B.
at Hoshiarpur (India).

V. I. Series—1 वि. भा. ग्रन्थमाला—१

SIDDHA-BHĀRATĪ (सिद्ध-भारती)

Or

THE ROSARY OF INDOLOGY

Presenting 108 original Papers on Indological subjects in honour of the 60th Birthday

of

Dr. SIDDHESHWAR Varma, M.A., D.Litt.

Edited by

VISHVA BANDHU

PART ONE

Pages I—XXX+1-266

HOSHIARPUR

V. V. R. INSTITUTE P. & P. ORGANISATION

All Rights Reserved

Publishers :

VISHVESHVARANAND VEDIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

Printing & Publication Organisation,

Sadhu Ashram, HOSHIARPUR

(India)

FIRST EDITION, 1950

THIS VOLUME

is published, specially, under the aegis of

Shri Karam Chand Thapar (Calcutta),

whose financial assistance has considerably

helped the V. V. R. Institute

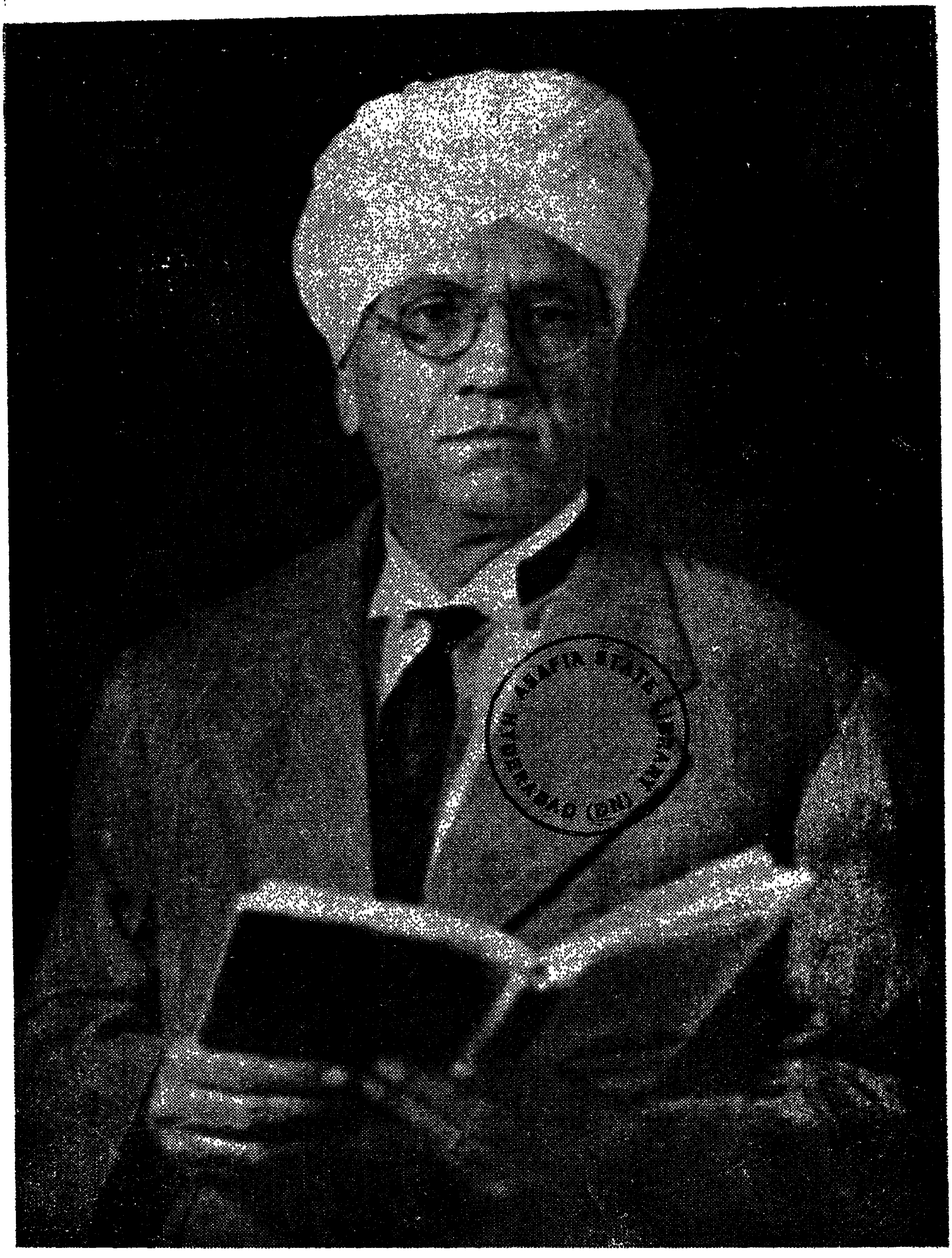
pursue its work-programme.

Shri Karam Chand Thapar.

Shri Karam Chand Thapar.

V. P. & P. ORGANISATION
HOSHIARPUR (India)

V. I. Series-1



कीर्त्या यस्य सकार्यार्था प्रस्तुता सिद्धभारती
प्रसिद्धः सिद्धसङ्कल्पः सोऽयं सिद्धेश्वरः सुधीः ॥

V. P. & P. ORGANISATION
HOSHIARPUR (India(

SUBSCRIPTION

This Volume was undertaken by our Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, in 1945, to be brought out to honour Professor Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's 60th birthday on November 3, 1947, but its printing could not be completed by that date owing to our dislocation from Lahore. We deem ourselves fortunate in having succeeded now in getting it ready, and feel it a great privilege to present it, with our sincere love and regard, to Dr. Varma on behalf of the Management and the Staff of our Institute and of all other friends who have been directly or indirectly associated with this our humble homage to him for his most devoted and distinguished service to the sacred cause of Indology, in general, and the Śabda-brahman *aspect of it, in particular.*

(Tek Chand)
President.

(Anand Kumar)
Secretary.

(Vishva Bandhu)
Jt. Secy. & Director.

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,
Hoshiarpur.
Dīpamālā (Nov. 9. 1950)

SUBSCRIPTION

This Volume was undertaken by our Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, in 1945, to be brought out to honour Professor Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's 60th birthday on November 3, 1947, but its printing could not be completed by that date owing to our dislocation from Lahore. We deem ourselves fortunate in having succeeded now in getting it ready, and feel it a great privilege to present it, with our sincere love and regard, to Dr. Varma on behalf of the Management and the Staff of our Institute and of all other friends who have been directly or indirectly associated with this our humble homage to him for his most devoted and distinguished service to the sacred cause of Indology, in general, and the Śabda-brahman *aspect of it, in particular.*

(Tek Chand)
President.

(Anand Kumar)
Secretary.

(Vishva Bandhu)
Jt. Secy. & Director.

V. V. R. INSTITUTE,
Hoshiarpur.
Dīpamālā (Nov. 9, 1950)

CONTENTS

Page

Editorial x
Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, A sketch of his Life and Work xv
A List of Dr. S. Varma's published Works xx
Appreciations of Dr. S. Varma and his Work xxii

SECTION I—PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES

Thomas, E. J., M.A., D. Litt., *Cambridge* :
Aryan Languages and Peoples in Europe 1

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, M.A., D. Litt., *Calcutta* :
Foreigners and Indian Names : The Punjab Speech through the Ages 5

Raja, C. Kunhan, M.A., D. Phil., *Madras* :
Some Malabar Mannerisms in Sanskrit 14

Shembavanekar, K. M., M.A., *Bombay* :
The Genesis of the Roots √रम्, √लम्, and √लब् 18

Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar, Shastri, Mm., M. A., D. Litt., *Calcutta* :
Some Composite Roots in Sanskrit 21

Chatterji, Kshitish Chandra, M. A., *Calcutta* :
On the Cases governed by some Sanskrit Particles ... 23

Choudhury, Tarapad, M. A., Ph. D., *Patna* :
कतिपयानाम् अव्ययानाम् आभिधानिकवैचित्र्याणि 31

Chhabra, B. CH., Shastri, M. A., M.O.L., Ph. D., *Ootacamund* :
Kīrti : Its Connotation 38

Sastri, P. S. Subrahmanya, M. A , Ph. D., *Annamalai-nagar* :
Four Laws in Sanskrit Semantics 43

Jain, Banarsi Das, M. A., Ph. D., *Lahore* :
The Persian of Jain hymns 47

Aiyar, L.V. Ramaswami, M A., B.L., *Ernakulam* :
Kerala Pāṇini on Infinitives 50

Gai, G. S , M.A., Ph. D., *Ootacamund* :
Linguitic Approach to Traditional Grammars of Kannaḍa ... 53

Shastri, Lakshmi Dhar, M. A., M.O.L., Ph. D., *Delhi* :
Some Indo-Arabic Philological Equations 56

Page

Sankaran, C. R., M. A., and **Venkatesiah, M. G., M. A.,** *Poona* :
Totality. 60

Jones, Daniel, M. A., Ph. D., *London* :
A Romanic Orthography for the Oriya Language. ... 66

Bloch, Jules, D. Litt., *Paris* :
कौन 68

Ghosh, Manomohan, M. A., Ph. D., *Dacca* :
Some Bengali Etymologies. 71

Bapat, P. V., M. A., Ph. D., *Shantiniketan* :
Vedicism in Pali 74

Hettiaratchi, D.E., M. A., Ph. D, *Colombo* :
Behaviour of Consonants in Sinhalese 89

Gray, Louis, H., M.A., Ph. D., *New York* :
Two Sanskrit Etymologies 104

Burrow, T., M.A., Ph. D., *Oxford* :
Indo-Iranica 107

Morgenstierne, Georg, Ph. D., *Oslo* :
A Bundle of Pashai Etymologies 111

SECTION II—VEDIC & AVESTIC STUDIES

Apte, V. M., M. A., Ph. D., *Dharwar* :
Textual Imperfection of the extant Ṛgved 119

Brough, John, M. A., D. Litt., *London* :
The meaning of ni √hnu in the Brahmaṇas. 126

Brown, W. Norman, M A, Ph. D., *Philadelphia* :
Indra's Infancy According to Ṛgveda, IV, 18. 131

Dandekar, R. N., M. A, Ph. D., *Poona* :
Hṛd in the Veda. 137

Kanga, Ervad Maneck F., B. A. (Hons.), *Bombay* :
Pahlavi Yans Hā VIII—A Critical Study 143

Kashikar, C. G, M. A., *Poona* :
A Comparative Study of Udgītha's Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda ... 150

Pisani, Vittore, Ph. D, *Milan* :
Two cases of Aspirate-Dissimilation in the Veda ... 156

Sabherwal, K., Shastri, M. A., M.O.L., *Lahore* :
Conception of God in the Vedas 158

Sehgal, S. R., Shastri, M.A., M O.L., *Lahore* :
Prepositional Element in the Word Apamārga 162

Shastri, Amarnath, V. A., V. B., *Hoshiarpur* :
स्पन्द्र-स्यन्द्र-पाठ-विमर्श: 164

Page

Shastri, Vijayachandra, M. A., M.O.L., V. A., *Lahore* :
Index to the Myth-heads of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā ... 169

Surya Kanta, Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. Phil., D. Litt., *Lahore* :
Some Dubious Vedic Readings 172

Taraporewala, I. J. S., B. A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law, *Bombay* :
A Remarkable Gāthā Verse 175

Venkatasubbiah, A., M.A., Ph. D., *Mysore* :
Five Similes in the Ṛgveda 178

Venkateswaran, S., M.A., *Annamalai-nagar* :
On the word Kratu 189

Vidya Nidhi, Shastri, V.A., S.A., *Lahore* :
वैदिकालंकार-निदर्शनम् 193

Vishva Bandhu, Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., *Hoshiarpur* :
An Atharven Hymn to Lac (Lākṣā) 201

SECTION III—OTHER LITERARY STUDIES

Acharya, P., B.Sc., *Mayurbhanj* :
A note on lākṣā in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā ... 217

Banerji, Sures Chandra, M.A., *Dacca* :
Purāṇic Basis of the Bengal Smārta Vratas 218

Bhattacharya, Bhabatosh, M.A., B.L., K. T., *Bhatpara* :
The Devotional Element in Raghunandana's Works ... 225

Chakravarti, Chintaharana, M.A., *Nadia* :
The Art of Stealing in Bengali Folk-lore 230

De, S. K., M.A., D. Litt., *Dacca* :
The S'ānta Rasa in the Nāṭya-s'astra and the Daśa-rūpaka. ... 233

Dumont, P.-E., M.A., Ph.D., *Baltimore* :
The Legend of Sītā in the Kūrma-purāṇa 236

Karmarkar, A. P., M.A.,LL.B., Ph. D., *Bombay* :
Bṛhaspati-Nītisāra in Garuḍa-purāṇa 239

Kulkarni, E. D., M.A., Ph.D., *Bassein* :
Accusative singulars of asmad and yuṣmad 241

Narsimhachar, P. T., B.A., *Bangalore* :
Portrayal of Nature in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa 246

Reu, Vishveshvar Nath, Mm., *Jodhpur* :
स्वोपज्ञस्मृति-विशेषः 250

Sen, Sukumar, M.A., Ph. D., *Calcutta* :
Prākṛta and Vernacular Verses in Dharmadāsa's Vidagdha-mukhamaṇḍana 257

Upadhye, A. N., M.A., D. Litt., *Kolhapur* :
Interpretation of Passages from Mṛcchakaṭika ... 265

EDITORIAL

Of the two serials, already being published, under the editorship of the present writer, by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, the first, known as the Shāntakuṭī Vedic Series is being constituted, in the first instance, of the successive parts under issue[1] of '*A Vedic Word-Concordance*' in 14 Parts, treated as separate volumes in the series and '*A Vedic Dictionary*' in 12 volumes as in progress, and '*A Vedic Commentary*' in 12 volumes and '*A Vedic Encyclopaedia*' in 2 volumes as under planning. The other one known as the Sarvadānand Universal Series was started in November, 1949 when the institute press, newly installed at Hoshiarpur, began to work. It was formally inaugurated on April 18, 1950, which the Institute celebrated as its Resettlement Day (*Punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā—Parvan*) by the announcement being made of the publication in it of (1) *Brahma-Vidyā*, (2) *Adhyātma-Darśana*, (3) *Ātma-Patha* and (4) *Karma aur Yoga*, from the pen of the great Yogic adept and philosopher, Swami Krishnanand Sarasvati[2]. This serial aims at supplying in current languages, Indian as well as foreign, primarily, in Hindi, standard cultural works, original, adapted or translated and, in particular, intended for the general reader. The present volume ushers in a third serial under the name, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, which the Institute has agreed to sponsor towards the publication of works, embodying research in any aspect or aspects of Indian culture, in general, including language, literature, philosophy, religion, history, art, sciences and other allied subjects. It is in the fitness of things that it starts with the publication in it of the present work which is in honour of a scholar who is an incarnation of the real spirit of research.

1. The late Dr. Sir Manohar Lal, M. A., D. Litt., Lahore, 2. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, M.A., Ph. D., Lahore, 3. Bakshi Dr. Sir Tek Chand, M.A., LL.D., Lahore, 4. The late Dr. Prabhu Datta Shastri, M.A., Ph. D., Lahore, 5. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D. Litt., Dacca, 6. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., D. Litt., Calcutta, 7. Dr. P.C. Bagchi, M.A., D. es L., Santiniketan, 8. Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta, 9. Mm. Prof. V.S. Bhattacharya, M.A., Calcutta, 10. Dr. B.K. Ghosh, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta, 11. Dr. D.E. Hettiaratchi, M.A., Ph. D., Ceylon, 12. Dr. S. Pranavitana, M.A., Ph. D., Ceylon, 13. Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyer, M.A., B.L., Cochin, 14. Dr. C. K. Raja, M.A., D. Phil., Madras, 15. Dr. S.M. Qadri,

1. The following five parts (being Vols. I—V of the series) have been published, respectively, so far :- Vishva-Bandhu Shastri : *A Vedic Word-Concordance,* Vol. II *(Brāhmaṇas),* Pt. I (1935), Pt. II (1936) ; Vol. I *(Saṁhitas),* Pt. I (1942) ; Vol. III *(Upaniṣads),* Pts. I and II (1945).

2. The following books, also, have since been issued in this series :— 1. Sant Ram : *Hamāre Bacce,* 2. Gauri Shankar : *Saṁskṛta-śikṣā-Vidhi.*

M.A., Ph. D., Hyderabad, 16. Dr. S.M. Katre, M.A., Ph. D., Poona, 17. Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D., Bombay, 18. Mm. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., Bombay, 19. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph. D., Baroda, 20. Dr. M.D. Shastri, M.A., D. Phil., Banaras, 21. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, M.A., Allahabad, 22. Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, M.A., Lucknow, 23. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, M.A., D. Litt., Allahabad, 24. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Lahore, 25. Dr. Surya Kanta, M.A., D. Litt., D. Phil., Lahore, 26. Dr. Banarsi Das Jain, M.A., Ph. D., Lahore, 27. Dr. Mohan Singh Oberai, M.A., D. Litt., Lahore, 28. Prof. M.K. Sircar, M.A., Lahore, 29. Prof. Gauri Shankar, M.A., B. Litt., Lahore and 30. the present writer had the privilege of subscribing to the following circular letter which was issued from the V. V. R. Institute head-quarters, Lahore on November 26, 1945 in connection with the present volume:—

Dear Sir,

It is proposed to bring out under the auspices of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore a Commemoration Volume in honour of our esteemed friend and colleague, Prof. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt., (London), retired Professor of Sanskrit, Prince of Wales College, Jammu and Kashmir State and, at present, an honorary member of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute staff.

Dr. Varma's life of rigid self-discipline dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, his mastery of a large number of classical and modern languages of Europe and Asia, his versatility and erudition and his learned contributions and services to the study of Sanskrit language and literature, in general, and linguistics, in particular, are well-known both in India and abroad. One of the foremost linguisticians and phoneticians of our day, his work has stimulated very largely linguistic research in this country. He has instituted and organised a special course and examination in linguistics under the auspices of the Jammu and Kashmir Government. And, as a Founder of the Linguistic Society of India, his place in the domain of linguistics is of marked pre-eminence.

We, therefore, deem it a privilege to have to request you kindly to contribute a paper of about eight type-written foolscap pages on any Indological topic of your choice. The paper is to be written either in English or in Sanskrit and made to reach the Honorary Director, V.V.R. Institute, Nabha House, Lahore (India) by or before the end of February, 1946.

We should feel obliged if you could kindly comply with the request and, in the meanwhile, write a line in reply towards facilitating the volume being planned out in advance.

Simultaneously with the issue of the above appeal for literary cooperation, necessary steps were taken by the printing department of the Institute to equip itself properly and amply with the various kinds of types that would be needed for the purpose of the volume. As some of the varieties had to be got cast specially to meet our requirement and the supply of loose accents had to be ordered from England, it was only towards the beginning of 1947 that the department was ready to take up the work. By that time, the huge number of papers that had been received in highly encouraging response to the above appeal, had been sorted, selected and arranged and, also, in sufficient number, made ready for the press. The first eight pages were printed off on January 25, 1947. Further printing, which had been scheduled to be completed quite in time to enable the volume to be presented to Dr. Varma on November 3, 1947, being his 60th birthday, had made considerable progress by August 9, 1947, when it came to a dead stop, because that day, under the compelling situation of insecurity of life and property attendant on the fateful Partition of the Panjab, proved to be the last working day of our press at Lahore. Dislocation with utter ruination soon hunted the Institute out of Lahore till it found, in November, 1947, its present asylum, no head-quarters yet, at Hoshiarpur, with its whole printing equipment abandoned at Lahore and its financial arrangements yielding it an income of about a hundred thousand rupees a year reduced to zero. The loss to the present volume, also, was very material in that its printed formes, except the few, now included in it, were seized and destroyed by the Pakistan Police. Thus, faced with the most difficult situation, the Institute has been and, still, is carrying on its life and death struggle towards its proper rehabilitation and, therefore, it is something that it has now succeeded in setting up its new printing press and completed the printing, practically, a second time, of this volume. It is to be hoped that the delay of full three years that has been caused in its presentation will be excused by all concerned and interested in this behalf.

A few points relating to the editing of the vast and varied materials included in the volume may now be mentioned, severally, as follows :—

(1) All the papers have been thoroughly and critically read.

(2) In a large number of cases, some liberty has been taken in scrapping or altering certain portions towards effecting proper consolidation and necessary abridgement. The scholars concerned, it is to be hoped, will approve of what has been done in this direction.

(3) In certain cases where the editor has felt called upon to supply a corrective statement, he has done it by appending a separate note for this purpose.

(4) Textual citations and references in the papers proper as well as in their foot-notes have been thoroughly checked and, wherever necessary, corrected with the help of the original authorities.

(5) Titles of books referred to and the abbreviations employed for them in the papers have been checked and corrected or rendered uniform, as necessary.

(6) Foot-notes, generally appended by the authors at the end, have been uniformly brought to the foot of each respective page of a paper, the huge number of these notes, over 100 in a few cases, notwithstanding. By thus increasing their referential facility, this change should add to their practical utility.

(7) A large number of foot-notes have been recast towards having a uniform method of mentioning authorities, *viz*. names of authors and books referred to and the relevant text-references.

(8) A variety of types has been employed to place distinct categories of materials in proper relief.

(9) Text-citations were given by some authors in the Roman script and by others in the Nāgarī script. They have been uniformly done here in the latter, involving the tedious process of transcription of matter covering hundreds of pages.

(10) The Direct Lineal System of Vedic accentuation as set into vogue in our Concordance[1] has been uniformly employed for marking accents in the Vedic text-citations.

(11) Except in the case of those new papers that had to be admitted after the Institute migrated to Hoshiarpur, the indication of the names of places wherefrom the papers were originally received at Lahore has been retained intact.

(12) Against the general practice of giving the papers in works of this type, mechanically, in the alphabetical order of the author-names, contents of this volume have been classified subject-wise and are being presented under seven section-heads. Accordingly, a glance at the Contents should show how much and what material on a particular subject could be found here. A further effort to give some internal system to the contents of each separate section, however, has not succeeded and has, therefore, been dropped from the Section II onwards in favour of the ordinary arrangement in the alphabetical order of the author-names.

(13) The supply of an exhaustive General Index at the end is an entirely new departure in this line. No apology seems to be needed for making this innovation, for, evidently, this should prove to be the most useful and, therefore, welcome instrument that could readily and distinctly

1. For a description and evaluation of the several accentuation systems see our '*A Vedic Word-Concordance*', Vol. I, pp. LXIII ff. and CXVIII ff. (available in reprint also under the title, Vishva Bandhu : *Vaidika-svarāṅkanarīti-prakāśa*).

bring to the notice of the reader every bit of further referable or workable research material contained in the volume. It is a pity, indeed, that the considerable mass of the previously produced Commemoration Volumes has usually remained, in the absence of a referential key of this kind, a mere decoration of the shelves.

And, now that this volume is, after all, ready, it is my most pleasant duty thankfully to acknowledge the valuable help that I have received, in its preparation for and being seen through the press, from S'yts. Bhim Dev, Vijay Chandra, Sita Ram, Ramanand, B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma, Durga Datt and Shri Kanth, all of them being or having been my learned colleagues at our Institute. It, also, needs a special mention that S'rī Bhim Dev, being the seniormost, has borne, in this behalf, the maximum burden for the longest period and that S'rī Shri Kanth has prepared the basic cards for the General Index. I am equally grateful to S'yts. Deva Datt and Revat Ram, the Superintendent and the Manager, respectively, of the V. V. R. Institute Press for their having taken every possible care in printing the volume neatly and in binding it well.

Fully alive as I am to the many still persisting glaring defects, not only in the editing but, also, in the printing of this volume, I can only crave indulgence of the critical reader, in this connection, in view of what has been said above in reference to the peculiarly hard conditions under which this sacred undertaking has been executed.

In the end, I beg to offer, on behalf of the Executive Board of our Institute, our grateful thanks to the distinguished signatories to the invitation, that was issued for contributions, for their valuable cooperation, and to all the learned contributors to the volume, our humble efforts in connection wherewith have been crowned with success only through their prompt and effective collaboration.

V. V. R. Institute,
Hoshiarpur.
August 15, 1950.

Vishva-Bandhu

DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND WORK.[1]

Pindi Das, for that was the original name of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, was born at Rawalpindi on November 3, 1887 of a well-to-do family, hailing from Tatrāl, a small village near Kaṭāsrāj, a place of pilgrimage in the district of Jhelum. His father, Shri Ram Das Nanda was a Public Works contractor, well known for his characterstically loud voice and indefatigable capacity for work. Even at the advanced age of eighty, he amazed his very much younger colleagues by his active habits and youthful vigour. He would often be seen at his work under the scorching midday sun in June and July and in the benumbing cold of the early mornings of December and January. In his physical fitness, Dr. Varma is a replica of his father—in that he rises early, walks or, rather, marches steadily, speaks loudly, and works indefatigably for hours on end.

He owes his deeper qualities of head and heart to his mother who would never have her meal till she had fed a poor person and used to have discussions on religious matters with *Sadhus* and others of reflective nature. At the age of eight, he daily attended, out of curiosity, though, some talks between his mother and another lady on Vedānta which he, of course, could not follow but of which he got an indelible impression on his tender mind. It was under the spell of that maternal influence that while he learnt Urdu at school, he privately picked up knowledge of Hindi, Gurmukhi and Sanskrit so much so that at the age of ten he could read out to others the Sanskrit text and a Hindi exposition of *Gītā*. He also read, in those years, *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and a number of other books of didactic character. His information even at that age would often astonish grown up people.

His career as a student was quite above the average. He obtained the 28th and the 14th positions in the Panjab University in his Matriculation and B. A. in 1903 and 1909, respectively. A recurring and protracted attack of malaria accounted for the two additional years in his First Year class. This illness, however, proved to be a blessing in disguise. While he was in the sick-bed, Ballantyne's English translation of *Laghu-Kaumudī* fell into his hands. As he studied this book, his amazement knew no bounds, for he was now seized of a subject that, like a factory, seemed to turn out, in a most systematic manner, finished goods in the form of Sanskrit words. Fearing his ill-health, his elders forcibly closed all his books,

1. As originally arranged, Dr. H. D. Bahri, a pupil of Dr. Varma, was to have supplied his sketch which, in the absence of our re-contact with him, has been prepared, of course, with many changes and additions, from the materials that he collceted for this purpose—ED.

but he was so enamoured of this particular book that he would hide it under his pillow and read it when there was none else in his room. After studying this book, he became a regular subscriber to Basu's English translation (then, in the course of publication) of *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* which he studied carefully and repeatedly. Thus, during those three years of sickness and invalidhood, Sanskrit grammar came to him as his only solace, a curious comment, indeed, on the adage, 'Grammar creates sickness (व्याकरणं व्याधिकरणम्)'. This period (1903-5), therefore, was the most important portion of his student-life in that it created in him his still insatiable passion for Sanskrit. For English, too, he had a great taste. He would go about, reading and reciting from the classics in that language, wherefore his companions often spoke of him as 'a literary maniac.'

He had an equally intense interest in self-discipline and introspection. He had set apart Sundays for going out for contemplation. He would leave his house early in the morning and return late in the evening. He studied books on ethics and philosophy. A band of friends who liked his way of life, formed, under his 'leadership', an 'Association of Thinkers' who met not only for philosophical discussions but, also, for hard physical exercises and cold baths. His sense of punctuality and thoroughness was really wonderful, for he could dare start addressing at the appointed hour even an empty hall if his 'followers' happened to be late.

He had the good fortune of coming, in 1906, under the influence of, and, later on, in 1909, when he had become a graduate as well as a householder, of living for five months as an *antevāsin* with Pandit Keshab Dev who, in later years, came to be known as Dr. K. D. Shastri. A successful Ayurvedic physician, the Pandit was a great dynamic personality of his day. Public-spirited to the core of his heart, he devoted his entire time to the uplift of mankind, specially, young people. He possessed encyclopaedic information and was a fertile correspondent, an enlightening conversationalist and, above all, a loving host. Dr. Varma has fully imbibed the spirit and genius of and received abiding impressions on his life from that master personality. His whole career has since been influenced by this highly inspiring association, and, like his Guru, he has been inviting various people to stay with him for exchange of ideas and *satsanga* and, also, been carrying on considerable correspondence towards guidance of younger people.

He passed his M. A. in History in 1911 and, immediately, went into service with the Shahpura Durbar, partly as Private Secretary to His Highness Raja Sir Nahar Singh Ji and partly as tutor of Prince Shatrunjaya Singh, now Raja Sahib of Bijwa (Oudh). After a year, he left this job to take his Shastri Examination which he passed in 1913. Soon after, he joined, as a teacher, the Hindu High School at Gujranwala, of which he became the Headmaster in 1914. But this administrative post was not to his taste as he could not get sufficient time for pursuing his study of Indian

philosophy, which was his master passion at that time. So, he resigned that post and got another appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at the State college at Jammu, which post he held till his retirement in November, 1943. It was here that he found a real opportunity for his full cultural self-expression. A special daily lecture, that he had to deliver on 'religious instruction,' *on secular lines*, was an intense impetus to him to wide reading on cultural subjects and to close contact with young people. By virtue of his aptitude for this line, he was appointed Honorary Secretary for India of the International Moral Education Congress. Being deeply impressed with the idea that the primary object of studying history should be the evolution of culture, he issued, in 1923, a questionnaire on the subject which received good response from different countries.

Having developed a keen appetite for different languages, he had acquired fair knowledge of German, French, Greek and Russian by 1924 when he was awarded the 'Language Scholarship' by the Government of India for further study abroad. He joined the London University and, as advised by his professors there, he took up linguistics which was, practically a new subject for him. That he was a student in the real sense of the word and not a mere degree-hunter was evident from his attending 17 lectures per week instead of 3 as ordinarily required. In 1927, his work there on 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians' was duly recognised by the award to him of the Degree of Doctor of Literature. But more valuable than even this high recognition was the great impression that he made on the minds of his professors who have spoken of him as 'a true lover of knowledge', 'an astounding scholar' and 'a wonderful linguist who had learnt ten Indian and eleven European languages'.

He has since put to ample use his highly trained ears, wonderfully adaptable voice and marvellous memory in studying unfamiliar Indian languages according to modern philological methods. During his most difficult and dangerous research expeditions to the Himalayas, which he has undertaken thrice at his own expense, he has discovered 21 hitherto unknown dialects. Only some remarkable features of these have been published so far, but the main mass of detailed information still awaits systematic handling. A mention is to be made of the six lexicons, which he has already completed, of the Himalayan dialects including Bhadrawahi, the Khasali group, the Khasi group, Pahari and Bhalesi. During his third expedition, he discovered the relics of a Dravadian dialect in the heart of the Kashmir Valley. When the news was first given to the All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad, the late S'rī K. N. Dikshit spoke of him as one who 'hid his light under a bushel' and, soon, hearty felicitations greeted him from all over the world. Dr. G. Morgenstierne wrote to him from Norway, 'I very much admire your energy and perseverence, your flair for new and interesting material, and your circumspect and methodic way of dealing with it

and of pointing out features of general interest. Would that there were many like you in India'. In appreciation of his work, the Government of the State bestowed on him a *Khilaat*. A couple of years before his retirement from the service of the College, the Government sanctioned, at his instance, the opening of a special Linguistic Department, under his Directorship, at the college to turn out trained linguisticians. This was, however, an ill-fated department because, on his retirement, it came to a close.

As Honorary Chief Editor of the Urdu Encyclopaedia (Linguistic Section), prepared by the Hyderabad Government, he has contributed forty articles in his own Urdu, one of which has since been prescribed in the syllabus for the M. A. Examination of the Osmania University.

He has maintained a deep and sustained interest in Vedic philology ever since he went through *Vaidikī-prakriyā* of *Siddhānta-kaumudī* in his early teens. His dissertation for the Doctorate drew upon the Vedic grammatico-phonetical manuals known as *Prātiśākhyas*. A large number of his other published papers, too, deal with one aspect or another of this subject. Indeed, it is his great interest in this line that accounts for his close and active connection, in an honorary capacity, with Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. Starting early in 1930, this cultural intimacy reached its climax in his self-dedicatory letter, dated October 16, 1943, the initial portion of which reads thus: 'I am retiring from the Kashmir State Service on the 4th November next. I respectfully propose to offer my services to your Vedic Research Institute from the *4th November*, 1943 to the 3rd May 1943 (Sic. 1944), both dates inclusive, and, in all likelihood, *shall continue to renew* my services from the 1st November of *every* year to the 31st April of the succeeding year. The other six months of my year will be reserved for the investigation of modren Indian languages'. And, solid and valuable is the contribution which, working 'at the rate of ten hours a day' and, in addition, devoting 'every minute' of his 'wakeful existence to the programme of the Institute', he has made towards supplying auxiliary materials for the Vedic Concordance undertaken by the Institute. In his letter, dated April 1, 1946, while referring to the work done by Pischel and Geldner, he reiterated his attachment to and confidence in the Institute, saying, 'I have been often during my day-dreams conjuring up a similar programme of श्रुति—when we make our Institute another Taxila—and we shall be disgraceful failures if we do not do so—to be followed'. Heavy as the losses are that the Institute has suffered on account of its dislocation from Lahore in 1947, it considers none heavier than the one caused by its own inability to offer him a suitable shelter when he stood in need of one towards the close of 1947. He has since been staying at Nagpur and is at present completing and retouching his monograph on, '*The Etymologies of Yaska*', undertaken by the Institute for publication. Mainly, however, he has become engaged, under the aegis of another institution at Nagpur, on the

preparation of an English-Indian dictionary. It is, however, a great thing for the Institute that he still sincerely feels that he is working at Nagpur as a 'lent' hand from it—a feeling which it fully shares with him.

This highly intellectual personality, leading an extremely simple, retired and regulated life of ideal dedication to the service of eternal S'*abda-brahman* is, essentially, a case of subordination of every thing else to the master urge of spiritual universalisation. To a suggestion from Dr. H. D. Bahri to name some of his friends so that they might be requested to send their good wishes on the occasion of the publication of the present volume in his honour, he replied in his characterstic manner, 'It is against my cherished principles to direct the good wishes of anybody, particularly, to myself : for my ideal is सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः, ' and I am often thrilled by Lord Buddha's declaration that he would refuse to enter *Nirvāṇa* unless the last devil on earth had first entered it. I believe such a wish is unjust, it is हिंसा and, in this sense, it is wicked. I beg, therefore, to be excused from this प्रायश्चित्तीय-दुष्कर्म. I may be wrong, but pray have concession for error'. In another context, he wrote to the present writer on September 4, 1947 : 'I can never dissociate real intellectuality from spirituality even for a moment'.

May this great devotee and matchless hero of practical 'intellectuo-spiritualisation'—this coinage has his own impress on it—witness, yet, many many returns of his birthday so as to be an ever fresh fountain of inspiration and an ever bright beacon-light for an ever increasing number of his fellow travellers on the path that he has travelled so long and so successfully !

A LIST OF DR. VARMA'S PUBLISHED WORKS.

1. *S'vetās'vataropaniṣad*, with Introduction and Notes, Allahabad, 1916.
2. Māgha's *S'is'upālavadha*, ed. and trans., with a Preface by Dr. A. C. Woolner, 1919.
3. *Analysis of Meaning in the Indian Philosophy of Language*, J. R. A. S., London, 1925.
4. *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, London, 1929.
5. *Nasalisation in Hindi in Literary Works*, Jour. of Letters, Calcutta, 1929.
6. *Neuter Gender in Bhadrawahi*, Indian Linguistics, 1930.
7. *Studies in the Accentuation of Sāmaveda*, .Proc. O. C., Patna, 1930.
8. *Burushaski Texts*, Indian Linguistics, 1931.
9. *Burushaski Texts and Grammatical Notes*, Ind. Ling., 1931.
10. काल-चक्र, 'the Indian theory of time', Delhi, (year ?)
11. *The Present and Future of Linguistics*, Proc. O. C., Baroda, 1933.
12. *Some New Sanskrit Verbs in Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara*, Proc. O. C., Mysore, 1935.
13. The *Rudhāri Dialect*, Indian Linguistics, 1936.
14. *The Phonetics of Lhandā*, J. R. A. S. B., 1936.
15. *Syntax of the Dative Case in the Ṛgveda*, Jha Comm. Vol., 1937.
16. *The Dialects of the Khasali Group*, J. R. A. S. B., 1939.
17. *Ḍardo-Pahārī*, Indian Linguistics, 1939.
18. *A Review on* B. *R. Saxena* : *Evolution of Awadhī* N. I. A., 1939.
19. *The Formation of my Child's Language*, Ross. Comm. Vol., 1939.
20. *Indian Dialects in Phonetic Transcription*, I, Ind. Ling., 1939.
21. *Prepositions used adnominally in the Language of Brāhmaṇas*, N. I. A., 1940.
22. *Indo-European gmsko-or gamskho ?* N. I. A., 1941.
23. *Studies in Burushaskī Dialectology*, J.R.A.S. B., 1941.
24. *Sanskrit *Ardham as a Preposition*, Kane Comm. Vol., 1941.
25. *The Position of a Preposition in the Language of Brāhmaṇas*, A. B. O. R. I., 1942.
26. *Hindi, Urdu, aur Hindostanī*, Sab-Ras, Oct., 1942.
27. *A Review on B. R. Saxena* : सामान्य भाषाविज्ञान, N. I. A., 1943.
28. *Urdu men ghair zabānon kā Tallaphaz kaise kiyā jāye*, Sab-Ras, 1943.

29. *The Elative Case in Bhadrawāhī*, J.R.A.S.B., 1944.
30. *Indian Dialects in Phonetic Transcription*, II, J.R.A.S.B., 1944 (?)
31. *The Arabic Language as it strikes a Sanskritist*, J. O.C., Lahore, 1944 (?)
32. *Comparative Meanings of Adnominal Prepositions in Brāhmaṇas*, Mukerji Comm. Vol., II, 1947.
33. *Bhalesi Dialect*, J.R.A.S.B., 1948.
34. *The Vedic Accent and the Interpreters of Pāṇini*, Proc. O.C., Bombay, 1949.
35. *The Presidential Address to the Linguistic Section*, Proc. O.C., Bombay, 1949.
36. *Sanskrit as a Medium of Conveying the Concept of Abstraction*, Ind. Ling., 1949.
37. **शब्द और मानव-ज्ञान**, **कल्पना**, Hyderabad, Feb., 1950.
38. *The Broad Features of Vedic Accent*, J. Hist. Soc., Allahabad, (year ?)

APPRECIATIONS
OF DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA AND HIS WORK.

(1)

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has worked under my guidance for three years. The result of his main research, 'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians' was accepted by the University as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Literature. It is a notable addition to our knowledge of a very important branch of the study of Sanskrit and the languages of India. I have formed the highest opinion not only of Dr. Varma's very great natural ability, but, also, of his quite exceptional powers of application. During this period he has equipped himself in a way, in which no other scholar in India and not many elsewhere have, for the study of the history of the Indian languages from the period of the Veda down to the present day. To a very wide and deep knowledge of Sanskrit, he has added an intensive and exhaustive study of the ancient linguistic writings in that language, and an enthusiastic and profitable study of the material and methods of modern comparative philology. He has made himself familiar with the linguistic structure of the chief languages of the Indo-European family. Perhaps most important of all, he has studied with conspicuous success the theory and practice of the modern science of phonetics, both in general and with special reference to the languages of India. In this connection he has written a treatise on the phonetics of his own mother-tongue Lahndi, which is in my opinion by far the best and most complete description that we yet have of the sounds of any modern Indian language. With this constructive ability Dr. Varma combines great critical acumen.

(1a)

It is a privilege to have the opportunity of paying a tribute in this Commemoration Volume to my old friend, Professor Siddheshwar Varma, and to the great contributions which he has made to our knowledge of Indian languages. I first knew Siddheshwar Varma when he came to London to pursue the researches for which the University gave him the Degree of D. Litt. It was this work, 'Critical Studies in Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians,' and his contacts both with comparative philologists and the phoneticians which turned his attention more particularly to the investigation of the modern languages of India. Returning, as he did, to Jammu, a linguistic region, the details of the languages of which were little known, he set about, with the energy that characterizes all his work, the

careful recording of these interesting descendants of Sanskrit. These researches are published in numerous papers in the journals of learned societies including the Journal of the Linguistic Society of India which has owed so much to Siddheshwar Varma's activity. They have brought to light many most interesting facts. In his enthusiasm for gaining knowledge, Professor Varma did not confine himself to the Sanskritic languages, but made important observations on Burushaski to the value of which the Norwegian savant, Professor Morgenstierne, has recently drawn attention. I conclude with the sincere hope that the years to come will see many more contributions of this character from Professor Varma's pen.

And, yet again, in a note, dated 13th January 1947 to Professor Daniel Jones—

'He is one of the few Indians who have done sustained and good work in this field (Indian philology) after return from here [London].'

R. L. TURNER,
London, 18.8.1927 (1); 20.12.1946 (1*a*)

(2)

When I first came to know Professor Siddheshwar Varma, over twenty years ago, he at once impressed me as a man of no ordinary calibre. I got to know him very well as he studied phonetics with me for three years. I saw much of him at that time not only officially in connection with his academic studies, but also socially, since I had on several occasions the privilege of receiving him in my home, where we discussed various subjects of mutual interest. I soon discovered his scholarly qualities, especially as he was keen on my own subject, phonetics. It became clear to me, too, that he possessed another quality—to my mind a very important one—namely, that of not permitting himself to be unduly limited by the subject he had chosen as his special academic line; he had, and continues to have, in addition to his remarkable scholarly attainments, a deep interest in human relations and much spiritual insight.

It is a long time now since I saw Professor Varma, but we have kept in touch by correspondence. And I gather from his letters, as well as from news of him reaching me from other quarters, that he has made the best possible use of the opportunities afforded him by his professorship. This is what I naturally expected of him; his learning and humane sympathy could not have done otherwise than bring benefit to all those with whom he has been in contact. Now, in his years of retirement which, I hope, will be many, his activities, though directed, may be, in somewhat different channels, cannot fail to be fruitful and to carry on their beneficial influence.

DANIEL JONES,
London, 30.12.1946.

(3)

I had the pleasure of knowing, and working with, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma for several years when I held charge of the office of Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State and he adorned the chair of Sanskrit at the P. W. College, Jammu. He represents a reincarnation, in modern days, of those scholars of the past who found their highest self-realisation in the disinterested pursuit of truth. With the single exception of an uncle of mine, who passed away a few years ago, I have never known any one who could devote himself to the cause of learning with such singlemindedness of purpose as I discovered in Dr. Varma. All the pretty but petty baubles which ensnare the attention of lesser men—money and prestige and position and titles—left him unconcerned ; he found his highest bliss in the kingdom of the mind in which he has always been at home with an ease which comes only to those who have earned the precious right of entry into it by their work. To this work he brings a passion of effort and concentration and an almost religious deference to systematic organization, which appears slightly exaggerated to those who have failed to achieve the same sense of fusion between their work and their life. His sincerity, his all-out sense of duty, his interest in the moral as well as intellectual welfare of his students made him an outstanding influence for good in the life of his students and brought about in his personality the rare and happy combination of a scholar and an educationist.

I am not competent to assess authoritatively the value of his work in the field of linguistics, which he has made specially his own, although I am well aware that this work has won international recognition. But I should like to bring out one point which marks out the true scholar from the counterfeit article. There are people whose scholarship and the love of truth, that is associated with it, do not go beyond their specieal field of study ; they do not irradiate their mind and their emotions, their outlook and their personality. Superstitions, prejudices, narrowminded fanaticism continue to dominate their life as effectively as the life of many ignorant and uneducated people. But Dr. Varma is a scholar whose objectivity of mind and unbiassed judgment have overflown into the rest of his life and have given him a fine sense of fairness and a balanced outlook on all kind of problems. He worked with me once for several weeks on a committee appointed by the Kashmir Government for compiling a vocabulary of simple Urdu words and it was a pleasure to see what a well informed, but open mind he brought to bear on the differences of opinion that often cropped up. He always adopted the attitude of a scholar to whom truth is more important than powerful, but irrelevant, ulterior considerations. A Sanskrit and Hindi scholar of eminence, he would never insist on a word of Sanskrit or Hindi origin being included in the vocabulary of simple Urdu, if that word did not fit into the genius of that language. On the other hand, if

the word did so fit, he *would* plead its cause with a strength of conviction which did not suffer because it was reasonably expressed.

In addition to these great qualities of the mind, Dr. Varma has a rich fund of sympathy and friendship and humanity, a sensitiveness to other people's point of view, a generous readiness to acknowledge the merits of others and a willingness to help which make him not only a great scholar but a good man.

K. G. Saiyidain,

Rampur, 4.2.1946.

(4)

Solid real feeling as opposed to mere flowery talk, the poetry of facts against speculative fiction, enjoyment of work as against tedious drudgery, peace of mind and no canker of suspicion, the logic of events as against authority of departed authors, living realization and no mere dead quotations—such were in short, the ideals and virtues which characterized you all along your period of professorship in the College.

We remember very vividly how you analysed every word with the accuracy of a philologist while teaching your students who had the enviable privilege of sitting at your feet. You have made yourself quite a prodigy of learning. Every minute of your life is so well-utilized. There is no pedantry and not the slightest shadow of affected pride or any thing unreal about you. To us you have been verily a scholar, scientist aud spiritual leader of a very high order in one. Along with your intellectual culture, you had brought your spiritual development to a very high pitch. Any idea, any problem, any common thought, having been touched by you appeared in a new form, changed by the mysterious flash light of your intellect and imagination. To us the whole thing was mysterious and superhuman and the subject was preached to us in a new light.

You have been an institution by yourself. Your towering personality has always acted like a magnetic touchstone, transmuting base metal into gold. We do not propose to embarrass you on this occasion by speaking of all the qualities which distinguish you, because we feel that you always felt uncomfortable whenever your personal qualities which we have learnt to appreciate in you, were discussed. But still we venture to do that though at the expense of incurring your displeasure. Yours have been the inborn modesty which avoids limelight, the breadth of outlook which seeks to understand the other man's point of view, the mellowness of temper and the charity of heart which is so ready to overlook the foibles of people and to attribute the lapses of younger men to want of experience or understanding

rather than to wanton mischief. And the last, but by no means the least, is the rectitude of conduct which is indeed the hall-mark of true nobility and which so eminently distinguishes you.

From his pupils' Farewell Address,
Jammu, 3.11.1943

(5)

श्री डाक्टर सिद्धेश्वर वर्मा प्राचीन भारतीय आचार्यों की परम्परा के एक अति सुयोग्य प्रतिनिधि हैं। वैदिक चरणों की परिषदों के दीर्घकालीन मन्थन से जिस प्रतिष्णात सूत्र-साहित्य का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ, उस में भारतीय व्याकरण, शिक्षाशास्त्र एवं बहुमुखी शब्दविद्या का उत्कृष्टतम एवं गम्भीर ज्ञान सुरक्षित है। श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी ने अपनी जीवन-पर्यन्त एकनिष्ठ साधना से उस पुरातन विषय पर अर्वाचीन वैज्ञानिक पद्धति से अनन्यसाधारण अधिकार प्राप्त किया है। शिक्षाशास्त्र पर उनका ग्रन्थ न केवल गम्भीर विवेचन का परिणाम है वरन् एक नवीन क्षेत्र में पथ-प्रदर्शन का काम करत है। बहुविध भाषाओं से धन्य इस देश में जहां शब्द-विस्तार एवं उच्चारण की धर्न जनपदीय भाषाएं चारों ओर भरी हुई हैं भाषाशास्त्र का कार्यक्षेत्र अपरिमित है। उस क्षेत्र में एक सच्चा वैज्ञानिक क्या कुछ कर सकता है, श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी का कार्य उस क उदाहरण है। 'लँहदा' बोली के ध्वनिशास्त्र पर उनका विवेचन मौलिक है। भारतीय शब्द-विद्या-भविष्य निश्चयरूप से बोलियों के हाथ में है। बोलियों के सर्वाङ्गपूर्ण अध्ययन के लिये इस विशाल देश को अनेक विज्ञ भाषाशास्त्रियों की आवश्यकत है। पण्डित-प्रवर श्री सिद्धेश्वर जी ने न केवल स्वयं बोलियों के क्षेत्र में अध्ययन क मौलिक कार्य किया है, बल्कि अपने प्रवचन से कितने ही नये कार्यकर्ताओं को जन्म दिया है। दीर्घकालीन अध्यापन-कार्य से विराम लेने पर हम उनका अभिनन्दन करते हैं। सौभाग्य से उन का विद्या-सूत्र जीवन के साथ संतत है, अत एव उनका अवसर-ग्रहण भी बढ़ी हुई समय की सुविधा के द्वारा ज्ञानाग्नि को समिद्ध करने के लिये ही है।

वासुदेवशरण,
देहली, १६-१२-४५

(6)

सुक्षत्राभिजनोपि यः स्वगुणतः कृत्याथ वृत्त्या स्वया,
जातो ब्राह्मणधर्मधारणचणः शर्मण्यसारस्थितिः।
सन्तोषामृतपानजातसुहितिः स्वात्माहुतौ दीक्षितो,
जीव्याद् वर्षशतं सुखं स सुकृती वर्मान्तसिद्धेश्वरः ॥१॥

सूक्ष्मात् सूक्ष्मतरान् पदार्थनिवहान् सूक्ष्मेक्षिकाभिर्युतो
यः पश्येत् सहजं सदा नवनवान् नानाचमत्कारवान्।
वाग्विज्ञानविमर्शकः स निपुणस्तत्त्वैकपर्येषणो,
जीव्याद् ... ... ॥२॥

प्रज्ञा यस्य सती प्रभावजननी रोचिष्मती व्यापिनी,
कालाभ्यन्तरिता कृतिश्च विमला मर्यादिता संयता।
उत्साहः सततं च यस्य लसति प्रत्यग्रतापूरितो,
जीव्याद् ... ... ॥३॥

औदासीन्यमिवास्ति यस्य निखिले सांसारिके स्वाढ्यके,
सारस्यं सहजं च यस्य परमं चिन्मात्रसंसेवने।
स्वाध्यायैकपरश्च यः सुतपसा संसिद्धविद्याधनो,
जीव्याद् ... ... ॥४॥

आर्याचार उदारधीः सहृदयः सत्यप्रियो नम्रवाक्,
स्वान्तध्वान्तनिवर्तने सुनिरतः सत्त्वानुसारी स्थिरः।
शब्दब्रह्मसमर्चनैकपरमः शान्तारिषट्कश्च यो,
जीव्याद् ... ... ॥५॥

संबाधे विरुचिर्विविक्तवसतिर् नित्यप्रसन्नान्तरः,
सौजन्यामृतनिर्भरोऽतिसरलः पैशुन्यशून्यश्च यः।
सौहार्देन युतः स्वभावमधुरः शान्तः कृतान्तर्जयो,
जीव्याद् ... ... ॥६॥

विश्वबन्धुः,
होश्यारपुर, ६–७–१९५०

SECTION I

Philological Studies

Aryan Languages and Peoples in Europe

By

E. J. THOMAS, *Cambridge*.

We speak of the Aryans, although it has been pointed out that only the Aryan branches of India and Iran have ever called themselves by that name. Still, we know what it means, and as no other term has been generally agreed upon, it is likely to remain. Even Giles, who usually spoke of Indo-Europeans entitled his chapter in the *Cambridge History of India*, 'The Aryans,' and the French ethnologist Georges Poisson has used the same term in his important works on the Aryan migrations[1]. There are many Indians as well as many Europeans who are in no sense Aryans.

A more important problem that confronts us is the fact that although we may decide quite clearly what the Aryan languages are, this knowledge tells us nothing about the peoples who spoke them. But the value of this statement is purely negative. It may help us to avoid rash assumptions, but it merely brings out more clearly the fact that we are really faced with a much more complex problem. It is only gradually that this has been realised, and Dr. Siddheswar Varma has drawn attention to the ever-increasing demands of psychology, physiology, ethnology and antiquity[2]. What we want to know is the whole of the culture of a once-living people or peoples and not merely the language which they may have spoken.

Pure linguistics alone tells us but a small part of the social, cultural and mental development of the people, and even the evolution of the languages cannot be explained apart from some theory about their speakers. The philologists in fact have always worked with an anthropological back-ground, and if some of the early theories now appear very unconvincing, this implies no blame to the investigators. There were at first hardly any anthropological data to go upon. These have been gradually increasing and ethnological as well as linguistic theories have been changing with the discovery of new facts that require explanation. It is with one such set of facts that the present paper aims at dealing. Why have the Aryan languages of Europe separated into certain distinct groups, with such close relations between some of them and such contrasts between others ? This query suggests the fundamental fact that we have not solved the Aryan question until we can connect the Aryan languages with a definite race or races, which, we know from their remains, once existed. There is in Europe archaeological evidence of many different cultures, and we must know how this corresponds with the facts that we gather from linguistics.

For the first investigators the problem appeared simple. It was assumed

[1] Les Aryans (1934) and Le Peuplement de l' Europe (1939).

[2] Presidential Address at the All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda (1935).

that Europe on the arrival of the Aryans was uninhabited. According to Lenormant writing in 1869 it consisted only of 'vast solitudes'. We now know that long before the Aryans arrived there were already many cultures. There was the palaeolithic and the neolithic, but the archaeologists knew that far more than two peoples were concerned. The craniological researches of Ripley showed three racial types. The dark, long-headed peoples in the south are the Mediterranean race. In the north, are the Teutonic or Nordic, light-haired and also long-headed, and through the centre along the Carpathians and Alps, a broad-headed people, the Alpine[1]. But these are not races, they are only racial types, and we find that they are separated into distinct cultures. Archaeology shows the existence of quite different cultures even among peoples of the same physical type. There is the megalithic, extending through France to Britain, the beaker people, starting from Spain, the corded pottery of Germany, the painted pottery furthur east as well as others, besides various cultures certainly pre-Aryan. Can we say which of them were Aryan in the linguistic sense ?

We may speak of five types of Aryan speech in Europe, Greek, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic. The very different kinds of sound-changes that went on in each showed that it was not enough to assume that each group entered Europe in succession and occupied their respective places. Hence the theory was broached that the various groups developed in Europe, influencing one another and producing peculiar relationships and contrasts. It is not necessary to discuss it here, but it may be said that although the theory that Europe was the cradle of the Aryans was welcomed by the Germans, it was an Englishman (Latham in 1851) who introduced it, and it was a German (Feist in 1913) who went back to the theory of an Asiatic origin. It is enough to say that the latest archaeological discoveries support Feist's view, though it must have been in Europe that the most striking sound-changes, like the Germanic sound-shifting, took place.

These Germanic changes very clearly raise the question of the causes of any sound-changes in a language. Why did Skt. *pitā* appear in Gothic as *fadar* ? There is a regularity in the changes, and the question was once hotly debated whether these changes may be called laws in the sense of laws of nature. This, however, was not the kernel of the dispute. The real question was whether we can assume the existence of spontaneous changes, changes without any assignable cause, and this was quite rightly rejected. If a sound has changed there is always a cause, and the problem is not solved until we know what the cause or causes were.

The earlier philologists never paid much attention to phonetics and to the actual processes by which vocal sounds are produced or through which they change. My own teacher used to discuss the matter, and he instanced the changes that have taken place in the pronunciation of English in the mouths of negroes. This was due, he suggested, to the different conformation of the lips. But it was not easy to see how this could throw any light on the changes in the Germanic languages. He entirely omitted the most obvious fact, namely,

that languages are changing every day in the mouths of new generations c infants. So, far from sounds changing by fixed laws, every member of a famil of children knows that most arbitrary changes take place as a young chil learns to speak. The whole language undergoes this process in a generatior and it is only gradually that the erratic changes get smoothed out. And the are never entirely effaced, for the child imitates not the actual articulations c his mother, but only the sounds, which he may yet imitate fairly closely by different kind of articulation. Hence a slight sound change starts, which ma be increased in the next generation. Modern pedagogic methods may check larg changes. The modern pedagogue is sure that they ought not to take place, an imagines that they never do.

But what happens when a person who already has a language learns new one ? The same thing happens as in the case of a child, but on a muc more extensive scale. He imitates the new sounds without knowing the voca processes, unless his teacher happens to be a phonetician. He may produce passable imitation in a different way, for his vocal organs are already exercise in a quite different form of utterance. Sounds that are strange to him he doe not reproduce at all, but substitutes those with which he is familiar. His bes efforts rarely disguise the fact that he is speaking a strange language with sound that belong to his own.

Sound-shiftings are only one of the features that distinguish Germani from the other Aryan languages. These changes and others to be mentione can be best explained by supposing that an invading Aryan people subdue a pre-Aryan race, intermingled with it, and imposed its language, whic became modified in the mouths of non-Aryan speakers. The Russian scholaı Dirr and Mar have compared the Caucasian languages of the extreme east c Europe, and Dr. Mar definitely connects certain features of Germanic wit Caucasian. One of these is the class of Germanic weak verbs forming th past tense in *ed* or *te*. It is certainly not an Aryan formation. The stron verbs with their *ablaut* show Aryan features, yet when the actual verbs ar examined we find that half of them cannot be identified with any Aryan root Whether the Caucasians (the Georgians and others) are a survival of th pre-Aryan population is a question too wide to discuss. It is enough for ou present purpose to say that Germanic shows evidence of a people who modifie the Aryan element, and adopted as much of it as would fit in with their owı Besides this there is abundant evidence of a pre-Aryan population. Apaı from the archæological remains, the Greeks knew of an early race whom the called Pelsgians. The Romans had the aborigines, and the abundance c remains found in Italy affords still unsolved problems.

In the case of Celtic we find another important feature which has lor been held to be non-Aryan : that is in the syntax. It was attributed to th Iberians. But this remained a vague conception until the anthropologis recognised the Iberians as a western extension of the dark-haired Mediterranean The chief syntactical peculiarity of Celtic is that both in Irish and Welsh th verb must come before the subject. An Irishman says, *tá an gort mor gl* (is the field big green) 'the big field is green.' It is not a matter of choice, such a

may occur in any language when for rhetorical purposes the verb is brought forward. Such a change of syntax was not adopted by the Aryans from the people among whom they settled. A people may borrow words, but they fit them into their own syntax. Another striking fact is a common feature between the Celtic and Italic langauges, the division in each into a *q*-group and a *p*-group according as one branch preserved an original *q*, and the other changed it to *p*. Irish and Latin are *q*-languages and Welsh and Oscan *p*-languages. It has been held that this points to a common origin in an Italo-Celtic group. It would perhaps be well to consider the possibility, that the Aryan invaders who gave rise to the Italic group mingled with Celts who had the distinction of *p* and *q* and that the same thing took place independently in the case of the group that resulted in the Celtic langauges.

It has been made a charge against the prevailing method of comparative philology that the Aryan languages have been too much studied *in vacuo* without regard to non-Aryan influences, and it is worth while to repeat it. To try and trace the development of the particular languages from within does not explain the actual changes that have taken place. What we have to deal with in each case is not an Aryan language influenced from without, but an Aryan language imposed on a people and adopted by them. These people became Aryanised, but there is no reason to think that any but the dominant race were Aryan peoples. The various directions that the languages followed were determined as much or more by the idioms of the languages that amalgamated with the Aryan superstructure.

Some light is thrown on the subject by the discovery of the Hittite civilisation, which is now itself a part of the general Aryan question. We find that a conquering dynasty invaded Asia minor, subdued the old Hittite empire and imposed its language on the subject peoples. From the vast numbers of cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghazkevi we can form a very probable view of what actually took place. Moreover from the contacts with the Mesopotamian culture we can reach an approximate date. It was probably later than the irruptions of the Aryans into Europe, but before they had spread very widely. We find in the cuneiform tablets the evidence of some eight languages, chiefly those of the various peoples in the old Hittite empire. This old Hittite was non-Aryan and is now called proto-Hittite. The language of the conquering people, now usually called Hittite, was Aryan. It has a number of Aryan words and Aryan suffixes of nouns and verbs but the bulk of the vocabulary is non-Aryan. This means that the bulk of the people were non-Aryans. They crowded the languages with their non-Aryan words in the same way as we have seen in Europe, but to a greater extent.

All this is far from solving the general Aryan question. There are the people of Asia, who may in the truest sense be called Aryan, and a large store of archæological evidence still waits to be collected and weighed. Further Aryan languages have been discovered and the problem now is not merely that of Indo-Iranian branch but has been much widened. It may still be possible to hold that the Vedic Aryans originated in India or that they came from the North Pole, but such an inquiry goes back beyond the period of the primitive Aryans inferred by linguistic methods.

Foreigners and Indian Names :

THE PANJAB SPEECH THROUGH THE AGES

By

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, *Calcutta.*

With the exception of the Sino-Tibetan tribes who came into India by way of Burma and Tibet, and the present-day European peoples (the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes) who came by the sea, and possibly also of some prehistoric Polynesians who arrived in South India from the East, all the invaders of India in the successive ages came by land from the West, from prehistoric times onwards ; and they entered India mostly along routes through the present-day Afghanistan into the Panjab, and on rare occasions through Balochistan into Sindh. Thus in succession came from the Negritos, the Proto-Australoids (who in all probability brought with them a speech which developed in India into the Primitive Austric speech as the ultimate source of the present-day Austric languages, of which the Kol or Munda dialects now current in certain parts of Central and Eastern India and the Khasi speech of Assam are living representatives within India), the various types of Mediterranean and Near-Eastern peoples (who would appear to have been speakers of primitive Dravidian dialects), and the brachycephals of the Near East and the dolichocephal Nordic Aryans (both of whom would appear to have been equally peoples of the Indo-European Aryan tongue) : all these came in prehistoric times, and these commingled to bring about the origin of the Hindu people of history by the beginning of the first millennium B. C. Then followed in their wake from the West the following peoples of whom we have recorded history : the Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians, the East Iranians (Kushans), the Hunas and other Turko-Mongol tribes, the Arabs, the Islamised Turks and their subjects, the Iranians ; and they were followed in the subsequent centuries by the Mongols (of the days of Chingiz Khan), and by further bands of Afghans and Turks (the last being the so-called 'Moguls') and Persians. The advent of several other Western peoples has also been postulated : some Uralic people or peoples, the Assyrians, the Achæans and other Indo-European tribes from the Mediterranean area, and Elamites from Susa. It was the Panjab which thus naturally lay in the highway from the West into interior India : and for those peoples, both prehistoric and historical, who could not penetrate further beyond the Panjab into interior India, their knowledge of India beyond 'the Land of the Five Rivers, naturally could be obtained, if they felt interested, from the people of the Panjab area.

It was after the formation of the Hindu people of North India from elements contributed by both the pre-Aryan peoples and the Aryan-speaking groups which came last, with the establishment of the Aryan language as the

sole or main speech of the inhabitants of North India from Afghanistan to Bengal, that the ancient Persians and the subsequent invaders came into the country. Excepting in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, the Persians of c. 500-400 B. C. have no record elsewhere of their conquest of a part of India, and Persian sources for Perso-Indian relations during the Achæmenian times are totally lacking. We are on firmer ground when from the end of the 4th century B. C. the Greeks under Alexander came into India, and the Greeks maintained some centuries of contact with India through warfare and through peaceful rule. The Greeks as conquerors never got beyond the Panjab, and hence it is only to be expected that the Indian names they became familiar with relating both to the Panjab and to interior India would be what they heard from among the people of the Panjab. Some Greek traders were in the habit of visiting the parts of the Deccan and South India. In other words, they picked up Indian (including Panjab) names as they were current in the spoken language of the people of the Panjab, and to some extent from the Deccan and South Indian speeches also. They would also modify these names, as a result of both imperfect recording in their script and conscious or unconscious approximation to Greek or Greek-sounding vocables. The ordinary Greek soldier-adventurers and their followers, and Greek traders and sailors, could not be expected to go in for learned forms in the 'high' language, Sanskrit, in preference to the forms used by the ordinary run of people. The study of Greco-Indian onomastics thus gives us valuable ancillary evidence about the kind of Indo-Aryan speech which was current in the Panjab in the centuries immediately before Christ, and about the Aryan and Dravidian dialects of the Deccan and South India.

Fortunately, on the Indian side, beginning with certain statements in some of the *Brāhmaṇas* going back to times before Buddha, through the 3rd. century B. C. inscriptions of As'oka at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, down to the later Kharoshthi inscriptions of the North-West in the early centuries after Christ, we have some positive evidence; and the Indian and Greek data can be compared and made to supplement each other, to give us some definite notion about the Aryan speech of the Panjab during the centuries or the half millennium just before Christ.

Thus, a passage in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (c. 600 B. C. ?) makes it quite clear that in the *Udīcya* tract the Aryan speech was purer than in the *Madhyadeśa*, for instance; "it was uttered with greater knowledge", as the *Brāhmaṇa* says; "therefore people go there to learn the speech; and he who comes from there, him people would like to hear" (*tasmād udīcyāṃ diśi prajñāta-tarā vāg udyate; udañca u eva yanti vacaṃ śikṣitum; yo vā tata āgacchati, tasya vā śuśrūṣanta iti: Kauṣītaki* or *S'āṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 6). This is a clear indication that the Aryan dialect of the North-West was closer to the Old Indo-Aryan or Vedic (or, in a general sense, to the "Sanskrit") speech than elsewhere within Aryandom, which would appear to have extended along the Ganges river as far east as Bihar by 600 B. C. The fact that Pāṇini (who flourished very probably in the 5th century B. C., between 500-400), an inhabitant

of *Śālātura* (present-day *Lāhaur* near Attock city in the North-Western Frontier Province), calls Sanskrit (which he describes in his grammar) the *Laukika* or "current" speech as opposed to the *Chāndasa* or the older "poetic" diction of the Vedas, is another indication that the current speech at least of his area was very like Sanskrit or Old Indo-Aryan in his time. All this is borne out by the epigraphic evidence of the North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra in the 3rd century B. C. While in the other dialects employed by Aśoka (the Saurāṣṭra or South-Western dialect at Girnar, the Magadhan court-speech elsewhere, and the Northern modification of the Magadhan court-dialect at Kalsi), the language has already made considerable progress as a Middle Indo-Aryan speech, particularly in phonetics, the North-Western dialect still persists in preserving mainly Old Indo-Aryan conditions in its phonetics: e.g. in keeping intact most of the consonant-groups which were assimilated, generally, in the other dialects, particularly groups with *-r-* preceding or following a consonant, and retaining the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* which occur in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. The Greeks who came to India with Alexander during the closing three decades of the 4th century B. C. also confirm the above finding that the Panjab speech still retained the general characteristics of the phonetics of Old Indo-Aryan even when the Aryan dialects in interior India had made a great advance into the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit stage. Words and names like the following which the Greeks heard in the Panjab and wrote down in their script are instances in point: *karpasos* (= *karpāsa*: "cotton," one of the first things that went out of India from the Panjab); *malabathron* (= *tamāla-patram*: stress on the long second syllable brings about the loss of the first, the nexus *-tr-* preserved as *-thr-* in Greek); *nardos* (Skt. *nalada*: in North-Western pronunciation **narada-*, **nár'da-*); *moskhos* (= *muṣka* - : the group -*ṣk-* not assimilated); *Brakhmanoi* (= Aśokan North-Western Prakrit *bramaṇa* being the imperfect Kharoshthi transcription of what was undoubtedly pronounced in the proper Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit way *Brāhmaṇa-* as heard by the Greeks—the proper sequence of *h+m* is maintained in the Greek transcription, and this indicates that the modern Indian habit of juxtaposing *hm* to *m+h* did not characterise the speech of the Panjab at the time: in interior India the word appears to have already become *bamhaṇa*, *bambhaṇa*, and even *babbhaṇa* in Magadha, whence we have Bihārī *bābhan* at the present day); *Sandrakoptos*, besides *Sandrakottos* (= *Chandragupta-*: *o* = almost like *u* in pronunciation in Greek; no assimilation of *-dr-*; hardening of *-g-* to *-k-* in the North-Western pronunciation, due to Dardic influence; *-pt-* not assimilated in some Panjab dialects, assimilated in other ones, evidently); *Prasioi, Palibothra, Eronnaboas* (= *Prācya-*; **Pāḍ'libutra* for *Pāṭaliputra,* with evident voicing of *-ṭ-* to *-ḍ-* and loss of interior syllable; and *Hirāṇyavāha*: Panjab pronunciations of names of Eastern India, undoubtedly locally pronounced as **Pacca-* or **Pāciya, *Pāḍaliputta-* or *-butta,* and **Hilaññavāha-*); *Adrestai* (for **Arestai* (= *Ariṣṭa-*); *Oksudrakai* (= *Kṣaudraka-, *Kṣodraka-* : Prakrit *Khoddaka-*); *Ksathroi* (= *Kṣatra* - or *Kṣatriya-*); *Mousikanoi* (= *Mucukarṇa* - : with Prakritic change of *-rṇ-* to *-ṇṇ-*); *Agsinai* (=*Agraśreṇika-*, Prakrit *Aggassenika* -);

the last five names being of Panjab tribes, whose speech evidently was being affected by Prakrit habits of assimilation which was still being generally resisted ; and the names of the Panjab rivers—*Hudaspēs* or *Bidaspēs* for **Bidastēs* (= *Vitastā* : initial V-, dento-labial as in Pāṇini's speech of N. W. India, represented by *Hu-* or *B-* ; *-st-* not assimilated : in later times the Prakrit pronunciation *Vidatthā* asserted itself to give modern Panjabi *Wihath*); *Sandraphagos* (= *Candrabhāga* : later Prakrit **Candahāā* gave *Cinnāh* or *Cannāh* in the modern Panjabi, also *Canāb, Cināb*) ; *Akesinēs*, Hellenised to mean "the Healer" from **Asekinēs* (= *Asiknī*) ; *Hudraotēs*, Hellenised by approximation to the Greek word *hudōr* = "water" from a possible **Eraotēs* (= *Airāvatī*, *Irāvatī*) ; *Huphasis* (= *Vipāś* or *Vipāśā*, Panjabi *Wyāh*) ; and *Hesidros* (from a pronunciation **Hatadru* = Skt. *Śatadru*), all show forms without the assimilation of consonant groups. The last name *Hesidros* = *Śatadru* may suggest the basis of a dialectal Panjab pronunciation of *s-* as *h-* as early as the 4th c. B. C. Most of the above names in their Greek forms, which evidently the Greeks obtained in the Panjab itself, thus supply strong outside evidence that the spoken language of the Panjab retained in its phonetics a good deal of the Old Indo-Aryan character, although Prakritic habits were coming in, more probably through the influence of inner Indian or Ganges valley sojourners and settlers than through normal phonetic development at this comparatively early period. On the other hand, names of certain objects of commerce, and of Deccan places and peoples, with which the Greeks came in touch a little later in the southern seaports of India, show characteristic Prakrit forms as typical of the Old Mahārāṣṭra speech of the times round about Christ : e.g. *sakkhari* (= Prakrit *sakkarā*, Skt. *śarkarā-* first mentioned in the "Periploos of the Erythrian Sea," 1st c. A. D.) ; *berullon* (= **veḍulla-*, Skt. *vaiḍurya-*) ; *Baraka* (= *Dvārakā*, with characteristic Saurāṣṭra change of *dv-* to *b-*) ; *Barugaza* (= Pkt. *Bharukaccha-*, *-gaccha,* Skt. *Bhṛgu-kakṣa-*) ; *Nammados* (= the *Narmadā* river, Pkt. *Nammadā*) ; *Ozenē* (= Pkt. *Ujjenī*, Skt. *Ujjayinī-*) ; *Paithāna* (*Pa[d]itthāna*, Skt. *Pratiṣṭhāna-*) ; *Suppara* (= Pkt. *Soppāraka,* Skt. *Śūrpāraka*) ; *Saraganos* (= Pkt. **Śāḍagaṇṇa,* Skt. *Sātakarṇa -*) ; *Dakhinabadēs* (= Pkt. **Dakkhiṇāvadha-*, Skt. *Dakṣiṇāpatha -*). The Greeks wrote *Indos* as they heard the name pronounced as *Hindu*, *Hindav -* in Persian mouths, and, may be, even among Western Panjab people, whose dialect agreed (at least in later times) in showing a preference for *h* in place of *s* (= *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*) ; but in the Deccan, they heard the name as *Sindhu*, and consequently wrote it down as *Sinthos.* So the name of the Panjab people, the *Arāṣṭras* became *Araṭṭ(h)a-* in the South, and was written by the Greeks as *Arattioi.* Sanskrit as well as mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit forms of names were sometimes noted, as they were coming in use in the South : *e. g. Kerobothra* (= *Kēra-* or *Cēra-putra*), *Dosarenē* (= *Daśarṇa*, or *Daśāraṇya* ?), *Taprobanē* (for *Tāmrapaṇṇī* or **Tāvravaṇṇī*) and *Palaisimoundou* (= *Pāra-samudra-*, *-samudda* or *-samunda*).

After the days of the Greeks, whose direct contact with India was over with the establishment of the Kushans, we have a period of close connection between Iran and India—first through the Kushans and the Parthians, and then through the Sasanians. But although the connection between

India—particularly North-Western India—and Iran was very intimate. Unfortunately records on the Iranian side affording Indian names and words as linguistic material are quite scanty, and insufficient for dialectological studies. The Kushan coins give some figures of Indian divinities with their names written in the extended Greek alphabet as used by them. These names have not been properly identified in all cases: and in any case, these cannot be referred specifically to the Panjab dialects. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the speech of the Panjab was progressing towards Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) conditions, and a North-Western dialect was established in South-Eastern and Southern Sin-kiang (Chinese Turkistan) as a local language of the place. Documents from this language — the so-called "Niya Prakrit"—have been found, and this Niya Prakrit is just a form of the ancient Aryan speech of the Panjab strongly modified by the original local languages, Iranian and "Tokharian." Other documents giving the proper speech of North-Western India (modified by both Sanskrit and other Prakrits) we find in inscriptions in the Kharoshṭhi script of the early Christian centuries, and in fragments of certain Buddhist texts translated into this dialect which have been found in Central Asia. A number of Sanskrit books were translated into Pahlavi, the Middle Iranian speech of Persia which formed the religious as well as official language of Sasanian Iran : e. g. the *Pañcatantra.* But these are no longer available: but these were in a number of cases rendered into Arabic and again into Persian, either from the Pahlavi or from the Arabic. The names mostly show Sanskrit forms, but in almost all cases they are in a mutilated form which cannot be set right owing to the hopeless imperfection of the Pahlavi as well as the early Arabic writings (Kufic without *nuqtas* or dots which were current during the period 600 to 1000 A. D.: e. g. *Vidyāpati* = *Bidpai* or *Bidbai*, from Prakrit semi-tatsama **Viddāpai* = *Vidyāpati* ; and *Karaṭaka* and *Damanaka* = *Kalalak* and *Damanak*, in later Modern Persian *Kalīlā* and *Dimnā.* A word like Pahlavi *vanjak* = Skt. *vaṃśaka* "*a* flute" may be ultimately from a Panjab dialect, but nothing definite can be arrived at from the Indian loan-words, not more than a couple of score in number in Pahlavi.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hien, Hiuen Ts'ang, Song Yün and others cared more for the standard Sanskrit forms of names than for those obtaining in the spoken dialects ; and for this we have to dismiss them. The Chinese Sanskrit vocabularies dating from the 8th century commonly show Prakrit pronunciations as the basis of the attempted transliterations in Chinese characters, but here also no definite clues can be found for the Panjab speech : at any rate, the matter has not been studied with this idea.

From the time of the early 'Abbasids, Indians came to be in direct touch with the Arabs, both of Arabia (through trade) and of Iraq (through both trade and cultural contacts). But the great drawback with the Arabs was in their system of writing. The Kufic style of Arabic writing obtaining in those days did not employ .he vowel marks and other phonetic signs, and was not yet in the habit of putting the *nuqtas* or dots to indicate the consonants properly—the later accuracy of tne Arabic script in this matter had not yet

come into being. It would, therefore, be exceedingly difficult to restore names like the following back to their intended Kufic forms and their Indian originals: *Bxr, Śkh, Rzh, D'hr, Rnjl, Bhlh, Knkh, Flsrhl, Sdbr, Mrmkh, Jry, Bdn, Skr, Snq, Twqstl, Rwsh, 'stnkr, 'ṭr, Mnkh, Sndysn, Dhn*, etc. Yet some have been sought to be identified: *Rzh* is probably *Rāja-, Knkh* = *Kaṅka, Bdn* = (?) *Vadana, Skr* = *Śukra* (?), *Snq* = *Caraka, 'ṭr* = *Atri, Dhn* = *Dhana*, or *Dhanya*, etc. But a name like *Bydb'h*, a writer on "Wisdom, or Philosophy," mentioned by the early Arab scholars of Baghdad, may represent the Sanskrit *Vēdavyāsa* (to whom the *Vēdānta-sūtras,* among other works, are ascribed) in an early Panjab pronunciation as **Vēdavyāha*, or **Vēdabbāha*, with *-h-* for *-s-*.

A good many Indian names feature (as would be natural to expect) in the Arabic work of Al-Bīrūnī (972-1048) on India—the *Taḥqīq-al-Hind*, or *Indika*, as the book would be called in Greek. But probably prior to Al-Bīrūnī, and possibly at a period shortly after the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs, i. e. some time during the first half of the 8th century A. D., a short Arabic work on the ancient pre-Islamic history of Sindh was compiled by an Arab writer, Abu Ṣāliḥ bin Shu'ayb, from Indian (Old Sindhi and Old Panjabi) sources; and this work was translated into Persian by Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad, keeper of the city library of Jurjan, in 1026 A. D. The Persian translator says that the original Arabic work was "translated from the Indian language," but the Indian source, from the forms of the Indian names, was certainly not Sanskrit. This portion translated from the Arabic of Abu Ṣāliḥ has been included in a bigger work by the Persian writer which is named *Mujmal-al-Tawārīkh*. In the Indian section, we get a brief legendary account of the connection of Sindh with the *Mahābhārata* heroes: we are told how Duḥśalā, the sister of Duryōdhana, was made queen of Sindh, and her husband Jayadratha was then associated with her as king—an account which is at variance with the *Mahābhārata*, where we find that Jayadratha was already king of Sindh when he was married to Duryōdhana's sister, Duḥśalā. There is a noteworthy statement in this account: that, after the establishment of Duḥśalā as queen of Sindh, Duryōdhana sent 30,000 Brāhmaṇas from different parts of India with their families to settle in Sindh, as there were no wise men or Brāhmaṇas in this part of India before. After a narration of this episode in ancient Sindh history, Abu Ṣāliḥ, as translated by Abu-l-Ḥasan, proceeds to give an account of the *Mahābhārata* story. The main outlines agree with the Sanskrit work: but the forms of the names, sometimes on a Sanskrit basis, and more frequently on the basis of the spoken vernacular, go to show that Abu Ṣāliḥ must have heard the story from some Sindhi or Panjabi Hindu of his time. The original Arabic of Abu Ṣāliḥ if available should be studied. The Persian version was published from Paris in 1845 by M. Reinaud, and recently Dr. R. G. Harshe of Poona has given an English translation of the French version of M. Reinaud compared with the original Persian (in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, June 1941, pp. 314-324: the following observations are made on the basis of the forms of the names as given in Dr. Harshe's paper, the Persian of Abu-l-Ḥasan as in M. Reinaud's work not being available to

me). It is not necessary to study in this connection this evidently popular version of the *Mahābhārata* story as current in North-Western India before 1000 A. D., and compare it with the original Sanskrit. We note here only those names which are in a non-Sanskrit form, and which in some cases indicate what are definitely New Indo-Aryan (Panjabi) habits of articulation.

Thus we have in the Arabico-Persian orthography the following noteworthy forms : *Djwšn* = *Dujōsan* for a probable **Djwhn* = *Dujōhan*, from *Duryōdhana*, Pkt. *Dujjōhaṇa ; Dhr'n* for **Dhr't* = *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, Pkt. *Dhaaraṭṭha* ; *Dsl* = *Duḥs'alā*, Apabhraṃs'a *Dussala ; Jndrt* for **Jydrt* = *Jayadratha* (the Sanskrit form of the name seems to feature here : the Prakrit would be *Jaaddaha* or *Jayaddaha)* ; *Fwr* from the Indian *Puru*, or **Pauru* (with *f* for *p*, *p* being unknown to Old Arabic, *f* or *b* was regularly used for it) ; *F'n* or *Fn* = *Fān* or *Fānn*, *Fan* or *Fann*, for **Pann* = Skt. *Pāṇḍu* (this name, in the Apabhraṃs'a of the Panjab, would be **Paṇṇu*, and in that of Sindh **Pāṇṇu* : this form of the name, *F'n* or *Fn*, for *Pān* or *Pan*, is one of the definite proofs that the source of the story for Abu Ṣāliḥ was a popular Panjabi or Sindhi version, written or oral ; in the speeches of the North-West—in Panjabi and Sindhi—the Old Indo-Aryan groups *ṅg*, *ñj*, *ṇḍ*, *nd*, *mb* changed in the Middle and New Indo-Aryan stages to *ṅṅ*, *ññ*, *ṇṇ*, *nn*, and *mm*, just as *ṅk*, *ñc*, *ṇṭ*, *nt*, *mp* became *ṅg*, *ñj*, *ṇḍ*, *nd* and *mb) ; Fndr* فنرر wrong reading for what was undoubtedly قندے *Qndy* = *Kuntī* of Sanskrit, Old Panjabi *Kundī* (*Kundi*) with change of Old Indo-Aryan *nt to nd* ; *Mdh'r* مزار for مدرے *Mdry* = *Madrī* for Sanskrit *Mādrī* (Old Panjabi *Madrī*, with *-dr-* unassimilated) ; *Jhtl* = *Yudhiṣṭhira* (this form would appear to be ultimately an imposition from some Prakrit dialect of Eastern Hindustan, showing, as it does, *-l-* for the Sanskrit *-r-* into the speech of the Panjab : in Pali, as in the *Jātaka*, the name already appears as *Yudhiṭṭhila*, and this *-l-* form of Pali, which as a literary language is based on the speech of the Midland and not of Bihar, shows that quite early this eastern form was adopted in the Midland, and it could then be passed on to the Panjab : *Yudhiṣṭhira* > Pali *Yudhiṭṭhila* > later Prakrit and Apabhraṃs'a *Juhiṭṭhila*, written in Arabic script as *Jhtl*) ; *'jwn* اجون = *Ajūn* (or *Ajjuṇa?* Skt. *Arjuna*, Pkt. *Ajjuṇa*) ; *Shdyb* = *Sahadêva ; Nywl* = *Nēwal*, for Sanskrit *Nakula* (*Nēvala* is the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit word, and from this we have Hindi *nēwal*, Bengali *neul* etc. ; this Prakrit form of the name is another strong proof that the Arab writer derived his *Mahābhārata* story from some popular Middle Indo-Aryan version) ; and *Qndhr* = *Gāndhārī* or vernacularised *Gandhāri*.

In the Arabic version, the hero *Karṇa*, son of *Kuntī* by the Sun-God, before her marriage with *Pāṇḍu*, has been loosely described as a son of *Pāṇḍu* himself, and *Karṇa* has been described in Abu Ṣāliḥ's work as "*Fan*, the son of *Fān*," فن بن فان which evidently is a graphic error for قن بن فان=*Qan* (or *Qann*) *bin Fān* (*Fann*), i. e. *Kaṇṇa*, the son of *Paṇṇu* or *Pāṇṇu*, in the speech of the North-West.

The other names which occur are either very much mutilated, or are not useful for our special purpose. The assumption of the existence of a popular version or versions of the great epic of India, the *Mahābhārata* in the

dialects of the North-West before 1000 A. D., differing in some matters from the Sanskrit epic as we have received it, or, at least, of the practice of telling the *Mahābhārata* story in the vernacular, is thus quite well warranted from the linguistic data obtained from the phonetics of these names.

Al-Bīrūnī was a finished Sanskritist, and with the very imperfect instrument for writing foreign names that he possessed, viz., the Arabic script in its transitional Kufic (or probably early Naskh) form without a full use of the *nuqtas*, he has not been able to do justice to the Indian words in his great book. Al-Bīrūnī's acquaintance with India was confined to the Panjab only, particularly to Western Panjab; and it was but natural that, in writing Sanskrit names, local vernacular (Old Panjabi) influences which coloured his pronunciation also modified his orthography. We have thus a good many words with Panjab traits : examples are given below.

(1) Full pronunciation of the cerebral or retroflex *ṇ*, which was on the way to be dentalised in the Ganges Valley. Al-Bīrūnī indicated this in some cases by *nr* نر e. g. پرنرن *P'nṛn* = *Pāṇini* ; برنج *bnrj* = *Baṇij.*

(2) Change of *s* to *h* : کروه *krwh* = *krōha* for Skt. *krośa ; By'h* = *Byāha* or *Wyāha* for *Vipāśā ; Ahārī* < Skt. *Āṣāḍha-*, Pkt. *Asāḍhia-; Bhnd* = *Bahand* for Skt. *Vasanta ; Phwl* = **Puhawala* < Skt. *Pauṣa-* (cf. Modern Panjabi *Hāṛ*, *Poh* for *Āṣāḍha*, *Pauṣa*, names of months) ; *Yāhī*, *duwāhī*, *trāhī*, *caudahī*, *pancāhī* for **pañjāhī* = *ēkādaśī*, *dvādaśī*, *trayōdaśī*, *caturdaśī*, *pañcadaśī* ; *dah* = *daśa* ; *trnj'y* = * < *triañjāhī* < *tripañcāśikā ;* etc. cf. also *Khknd* = **Kihkindha* for Skt. *Kiṣkindhā.*

(3) *-ṇḍ-*, *-nd->-ṇṇ-*, *-nn-* : ادنفر *'dnfr*, *'dnpr* = **Uddaṇṇapura*, Skt. *Uddaṇḍapura* ; *Arkan* = * *Ariyakhaṇṇa* < *Ārya-khaṇḍa.*

(4) *-ṅk-*, *-ṅkh-*, *-ñc-*, *-nt-* > *ṅg-*, *ṅgh-* or *-ṅg-*, *-ñj-*, *-nd-* respectively : *Sāngu* = *Sāṅkhya* ; *trnj'ay* = *triañjāhī* < *tripañcāśikā* ; *'ndrwyd* = **Andara-vēda*, Skt. *Antar-vedi* ; *Bhnd* = *Bahanda* for Skt. *Vasanta* ; *S'mnd* = *Sāmanda* for *Sāmanta.*

The Prakrit forms of a few of the words from Al-Bīrūnī noted below are interesting : *M'hwrh* = *Māhūrah* for **Māhura* = Skt. *Mathurā*, Pkt *Mahurā*, Ap. *Mahura* ; *Jwn* = *Jawn* for **Jaw̃unā* < Skt. *Yamunā* (the present-day *Mathrā* and *Jamnā*, Anglicised *Muttra* and *Jumnah* are Sanskrit loans, in the Hindi dialects which have all but driven out the old *tadbhava* derivatives from the Prakrit) ; *Gng's'yr* = *Gaṅgāsāgara*, with Prakritic *sāyara* for *Sāgara* ; *Kavital*, *Kaithal* = *Kapiṣṭhala* ; *Ktt* = **Khaṭṭa* < Skt. *Khaṭvā* ; *Bht* = **Bhutti* < Skt. *Bhukti* ; *Srwh* = *Saravū* for Skt. *Sarayū* ; *dywsyny* = *dēva* + *siviṇa*, 'Gods' sleep,' *siviṇia-* < Prakrit *siviṇa* = **supina*, *svapna* ; *dywtthwny* = *dēvotthiṇī*, 'Gods' awakening ;' *Kwr-tr* or *Gwr-tr* = **Gōritria* < *Gaurī-tṛtīyā* ; etc.

The names of the Panjab rivers as given by Al-Bīrūnī are interesting : *Stldr* = **Sataluddara* for **Śatarudra* in place of *Śatadru* (is *Satlaj* from **Śatarudrya*, in a *semi-tatsama* form **Satalujja* ?) ; *By'h* for · *Wy'h* = *Vipāśā* ; *'r'vyī* = *Irāvay* < *Irāvatī* ; *Candrāha* < *Candrabhāgā ;* and *Biyatt* < *Vitastā*, known also as *Jailam* to Al-Bīrūnī from the name of the city on its bank.

It is also noteworthy that in the *semi-tatsama* words *m'ns'rtk* and *pur'rtk* for *māṃsāṣṭaka* and *pūrāṣṭaka*, the Skt. *-ṣṭ-* becomes *-rt-* in Panjab pronunciation of the 10th-11th centuries: compare a similar present-day East-Bengal pronunciation of *-s'c-* as *-rc-*: *karcit* for Skt. *kas'cit*, *ārcoirdzo* for Skt. *ās'carya*, even *ḍircārdz* for English *discharge*.

Thus, from the Greek times, we find that some valuable indirect evidence about the habits of the Aryan speech of the Panjab can be obtained from the transcription of Indian names by the foreigners from the West who came to India through the Panjab and the Sindh. We see how about 300 B. C. and even later, the speech of the Panjab was still very much like Old Indo-Aryan (or Sanskrit) in its phonetics; that the Prakrit assimilation of consonants was rather late in manifesting itself in the speech of the Panjab, and even now in some of the dialects the *r* after a consonant in a nexus is retained, particularly in Western Panjab. The change of the sibilants to *h* which is so characteristic of genuine Panjabi (e. g. *wīh* = *vīsa*, Skt. *viṃs'ati* ; *nūh* = *snuṣā* *dah* = *aas'a* ; *Lāhaur* < *Hālāura* < *S'ālātura* ; *Wyāh* < *Vipās'ā* ; *Hāḷ* < *Āṣāḍha* ; *Poh* < *Pauṣa* ; etc.) is certainly very old; it may be as old as the 4th century B. C., at least in some spoken forms, if the Greek *Hesidros* is based on an actual pronunciation like **Hatadru* ; and it is certainly as old as 1500 years from now. Certain other speech-habits like the change of the nasal with unvoiced stops to the nasal with voiced stops (e. g. *danta* > *dand*, *pañca* > *pañj*, *campā*, **campaka* > *cambā*, etc.), and of the nasal with voiced stops to double nasals (e. g. *candana* > *cannan*, *bandhana-* > *bannhaṇa* etc.), appear to have been established already by 800 A. D., and other evidence would go to indicate that it is still several centuries earlier.

Thus foreign transcriptions and adaptations of names from a particular language beco ne linguistic material of a unique value in studying its historical phonology, as it has been demonstrated in numbers of instances elsewhere.

Some Malabar Mannerisms in Sanskrit

By
C. KUNHAN RAJA, *Madras.*

1. When I studied the *Amarakos'a* by rote as a young boy, I had learned the passage occurring among the synonyms of *Brahmā* : *vidhātā vis'vasṛḍ vidhiḥ* as *vidhātā vis'vas'ṛg vidhiḥ.* This is the Malabar reading. So far as I know, the reading is not current anywhere else in India. In the *Prakriyāsarvasva*, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa explains the word *vis'vasṛk* as follows *vis'vasṛj* ; *viśvasṛg iti sṛjeḥ kvinpratyayāntatvāt kutvam* ; *vis'vasṛk* ; *kutvam neti vṛttau* ; *vras'cādiṣaḥ* ; *jas'tvacartve* ; *vis'vasṛṭ* ; *vis'vasṛgbhyām viśvasṛḍbhyām* (under the Sūtra : *yujer asamāse*). In a Malayalam annotation on the *Amarakos'a*, which is called the P*añcikā* and which must be more than four hundred years old in so far as a manuscript of it in the Adyar Library bears the date 1541 A. D. (one cannot be sure if this is the date of the composition or of the transcription of the manuscript itself ; see Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. V, Pt. i ; February, 1941), the reading found is *vis'vasṛk* and not *vis'vasṛṭ*. But a recent scholar in Malabar, whose name is Kaikkulaṅṅare Rāma Vāriyar, and who lived in the second half of the last century, says when annotating this word in his *Amarakos'a* commentary, that the reading *vis'vasṛk* is unacceptable, since it is opposed to grammar. In all the books printed in Malabar in recent times, the reading is with a *ṭ* and not with a *k*. But in so far as Nārayaṇa Bhaṭṭa justifies the form and in so far as the word is so found in early manuscripts, that must be accepted as the genuine Malabar reading. If that reading were not known to Rāma Vāriyar as the accepted form, there was no occasion for him to declare that it was not acceptable.

2. Malayalees pronounce *vivasvān* and *Vaivasvataḥ* as *vivatsvān* and *vaivatsvataḥ*. I have myself studied the *Amarakos'a* passages : *bhāsvad-vivasvat-saptās'va* and *s'rāddhadevo vaivasvato'ntakaḥ* as with a *t* sound before *sva* in both the places. In the *Raghuvaṃs'a* (canto I) also I have studied the passage: *vaivasvato manur nāma* as *vaivatsvato manur nāma*. In all the manuscripts I have seen the word has, however, only a pure *sva* without the *t* sound preceding. But I have asked many people and they all say that they have known the word as having a *t* before *sva*. In Malabar, *t* is pronounced in such positions as *l*, and as such the pronunciation is *lsva* and not *tsva*. I must confess that many other elderly scholars have replied that they have known the word only as having a pure *sva* without the *t* (or *l*) sound before it. I know that my statement is a very subjective one ; I am not able to give any reliable evidence as in the case of the previous word, *vis'vasṛk*. There is only one small manuscript evidence which I have seen, in support of my statement. In one manuscript I have seen the word first written as *vaivatsvataḥ* and then the *t* part is scored. The scribe must have

written *tsva* since it must have been in the original before him or since he was familiar with the reading as *vaivatsvataḥ*. And he must have scored the *t* since he knew that it shall not have a *t* sound. (For this evidence see my edition of the *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya,* published as a supplement to the Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, Vol. II, 1937-38, Note No. 26 on P. 62, for P. 71).

3. The word *kātyāyanī* is always written and pronounced as *kārtyāyinī,* in Malabar. In a commentary on the *Durgāsaptaśatī*, the word is so derived also. What is peculiar is not merely the form with *r* before *tyā*, but also the final *inī* instead of *anī.* The *Pañcikā* on the *Amarakośa* gives the word as *kārtyāyinī* in *umā kātyāyanī gaurī.* Rāma Vāriyar, too, gives the two alternatives current as *kārtyāyanī* and *kārtyāyinī*, and rejects both as devoid of sanction. In Malabar the word is known only as *kārtyāyinī.*

4. In the beginning of the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, there is the passage : *sa mṛṇmaye vītahiraṇmayatvāt.* There can be no cerebralisation in *n*, and the word ought to be *mṛnmaya* and not *mṛṇmaya.* But even in a Nirnayasagara edition I note the word with a cerebral *ṇ*. I have studied the text only as *mṛṇmaya* and all the Malabar manuscripts and printed editions read the word in that way. It is only in a recent edition, supervised by those who are very particular about fidelity to Pāṇini, that I have seen the word as *mṛnmaya.* Since this reading with the cerebral *ṇ* is found in a Bombay edition also I do not know if I can claim it as a Malabar mannerism. Monier Williams too knew the word as *mṛṇmaya* and he gives it as a wrong reading for *mṛnmaya*, in his dictionary. It is certain that Kālidāsa himself must have used the word as *mṛṇmaya* to alliterate with *hiraṇmaya* which follows immediately.

5. The name *vālmīki* and the word *valmīka* 'ant-hill' are known to the Malayalees *only* as *vānmīki* and *vanmīka*, *l* being changed into *n.* I have consulted a large number of ancient manuscripts and they all agree in writing the word with a *n* instead of a *l*. Gundert in his dictionary of Malayalam gives the word as *vānmīki* and notes the word in its alphabetical order in the group *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh* and *n*, and not after *r* where *l* ought to come. When I carefully noted the pronunciation of the word among the people of the East Coast in South India, I could detect the *n* sound instead of *l* in their pronunciation. But they told me that they write it only with a *l* and not with a *n*. Although in modern printing, they have changed over to *l*, even now people who follow the traditional pronunciation, write the word with a *n* and never with a *l*. I have with me now a transcript in Malayalam characters of a commentary on the *Meghasandeśa* called *Sumanoramaṇī*, in the handwriting of Panditaraja Rama Pisharoti of Tripunithura, a scholar of all-India reputation and author of the commentaries on the *Śākuntala*, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Dhvanyāloka.* Here he writes the word as *vanmīka* in the verse : *valmīkāgrāt prabhavati dhanuḥkhaṇḍam ākhaṇḍalasya* (1,15), and not *valmīka.* In modern times, the word is printed as *vālmīki* and *valmīka* ; but this is a modern improvement on tradition. The Malabar pronunciation

is with a *n* and not with *l*. There are many other cases where an original *l* is pronouuced as *n* by the Malayalees. Thus the word *kalmaṣa* is written and pronounced as *kanmaṣa* in Malabar. In this connection the cases of interchange of *l* and the sounds of the *t* class (dental class) in Malabar pronunciation must be carefully scrutinised. The change of Sanskrit *l* into *n* in Malabar pronunciation must have been influenced by this inter-relation of *l* and *t* class (dental) sounds in Malabar pronunciation of Sanskrit and in Malayalam.

Usually *t* and *d* are pronounced as *l* in Malabar, when Malayalees pronounce Sanskrit, either when they are final or when they are followed by a consonant of another class or by a sibilant. For example: *ātman* > *ālman*, *sadma* > *salma*, *tātparya* > *tālparya*, *udbāhu*, > *ulbāhu*, *utphulla* > *ulphulla*, *udbhūta* > *ulbhūta*, *satkāra* > *salkāra*, *tatsama* > *talsama* and *sadgati* > *salgati*. When palatals and cerebrals follow, then *t* and *d* are also changed and as such this peculiarity does not come in. As final, *tasmāt* is pronounced as *tasmāl*. When a word is followed by another word, then there is *sandhi*. Thus there is the word *ārāt* 'near'; it is pronounced *ārāl*, but *arādārāmalakṣmīm* will be the form when it is joined to a word that follows. In the Malayalam alphabet, *t* is the symbol for the sound *l* when it stands alone, not when it is followed by a vowel. The symbol *t* when alone, will be pronounced as *l*; when it is written as *ta*, it is pronounced just as in the other parts of India; and *la* has a separate symbol. But the consonantal part in *la* is never written alone without another sound following it; *l* is never written by itself. In conjunct consonants like *satkāra*, the *t* is pronounced as *l* and when the word is written, either it can be written as *satkāra* or also as *salkāra*. The pronunciation is the same,. namely, *salkāra* Even where there is an original *l*, the symbol *t* is used to represent that sound, as *vikalpa* written *vikatpa* (to be pronounced *vikalpa)*. I have noted such writing in many manuscripts e. g. cf. my aforesaid edition of the *Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya* Note No. 4 on P. 60 for P. 70, and Note No. 13 on P. 66 for P. 76). This pronunciation is found in the Veda also. The Ṛgvedins of Malabar pronounce *satpate* as *salpate*. But there is a difference in the *prayatna* when the sound is an original *l* or when it is *t* pronounced as *l*.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa knew that the actual pronunciation of the word is *palma* and not *padma*, and so he says in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* that the *l* sound (really it is the *t* sound heard as *l* in Malayalam that he means) is unwarranted. He says: *padmam hi padyater uktam na pater mādhavādibhiḥ spaṣṭo dakāras codicām takāroktir ato bhramaḥ* under I, 30 in his *Uṇādi* portion. By *takārokti*, what he has in mind is not the pronunciation *patma*, since there is no such pronunciation, but the pronunciation *palma* (*l* for *t*) in Malayalam.

There is a similar relation between *ṭ* and *ḍ* on one hand and *ḷ* on the other hand. There are two *ḷ* sounds in malayalam. One is the Sanskrit dental and the other is the corresponding cerebral; and it is this cerebral *ḷ* and not the vocalic sound that is represented here as *ḷ*. Thus, *ṣaṭpada* > *ṣaḷpada*, *vaṣaṭkāra* > *vaṣaḷkāra*, *virāṭsvarūpa* > *virāḷsvarūpa*. As finals,

words like *vaṣaṭ* and *virāṭ* are pronounced as *vaṣal* and *virāl*. As between *l* and *t*, there is the same relation between *ṭ* and *ḷ*. When *ḷ* sound is followed by a vowel, there is a symbol *ḷa* in the alphabet; but when it is not so followed by a vowel, the *l* is represented by *ṭ*.

When Sanskrit words are used in Malayalam, even the final *t* pronounced as *l* remains as *l* in *sandhi* with a following element. Thus, *yathāvat* is pronounced as *yathāval*; and when the Malayalam ending *ĕ* is added it becomes *yathāvalĕ*. Similarly, *vegāl ākāśamārgam prati* is quite correct in Malayalam for *vegād ākāśamārgam prati*; though when the passage is Sanskrit itself and not a part of a Malayalam passage, it should be *vegād ākāsamārgam prati*, even amoug the Malayalees.

6. In pronouncing the dipthong *ai*, Malayalees pronounce it as *ei*, in certain positions. Thus if one observes the Malayalam pronunciation of *tathaiva*, it will be heard as *tatheiva*. Perhaps it is not a full *ei*; it is more *ei*, with what is called a neutral vowel (ə) in place of the *a* sound in the combination. There are many other places where Sanskrit *a* is heard as this neutral vowel. It is nearer to the *e* than to the *a* sound, e. g. *gaja* > *geja*, *jagat* > *jəgat*, *dayā* > *dəyā*, *bala* > *bəla*, *yakṣa* > *yəkṣa*, *rasa* > *rəsa* and *lava* > *ləva*. In poetry, there are places where an original short vowel has to be recited as long for the sake of prosodial value. When a short *a* is so lengthened, it is heard as a long ə̄. Thus the passage: *hari-yuta-hari-haya-tana-yanĕ* must be recited as a regular iambic: *harī-yuta-harī-hayā-tanā-yanĕ*. Here the short *a* lengthened in the second, fourth and fifth feet will be actually recited as a long ə̄ and not as *ā*. There are many Malayalam words also, where we find this neutral vowel very prominently. Words with an original *i* or *u* are now pronounced as having an *e* or *o*, perhaps a further development after their initial conversion into ə, e. g., *vila* > *vela* 'price,' *ila* > *ela* 'leaf,' *ural* > *oral* 'mortar' and *kula*[1] > *kola* 'murder.' In a word like *pula* 'pollution' we expect the form *pola*, but we actually hear the form as *pela*.

7. The combination *ksa* has a very peculiar value in Malayalam. The Malayalees do not pronounce it as a conjunct consonant at all. In their pronunciation, it is only a single sound and that is like this: try to pronounce *ṭa* and pronounce *ṣa* actually. It is not regarded as a conjunct consonant in the alphabet; it is an independent unitary sound and comes at the end of the alphabet.

On account of the advent of printing and the consequent standardisation of the pronunciation in the various linguistic areas in India, Malabar too is losing much of its mannerisms in Sanskrit pronunciation. For purposes of philology, such mannerisms have a great value and they can be preserved only by being properly recorded.

1. This example seems doubtful since the original and literary Tamil cognate form has *o* (cf Kol, Kolai - Kannaḍa Kol)—Ed.

supreme, and the sciences closely connected with it, such as anatomy, trigonometry etc. received a sort of impetus through the usual performance of the same. Then, again, why समालम्भन means विलेपन is now easy to understand, it is 'something which sticks to the body'.

By the further softening of √लभ् into √लब् during the post-Vedic and Epic period, a gap was filled which was caused by the remarkable change of meaning undergone by the old root as above described. And, accordingly, we have now the form आलम्बते which has exactly the same signification as आरभते in the Ṛgveda : compare आलम्ब्य हारं करपल्लवेन[1], स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः समाललम्बे वृषराजकेतनः[2] In course of time, the three roots √रभ्, लभ् and √लब् become completely diffrentiated in meaning and retaining their place in the Bhāṣā or Classical Sanskrit : आरभते became synonymous with प्रक्रमते, लभते with विन्दति, while आलम्बते only represents the old meaning, The transitive character of all the three roots, the Ātmanepada, and the *mumāgama* (nasalisation of the penultimate syllable) are clear traces of their old identity. This is, perhaps, the only example of a single root splitting, or multiplying itself, into three in the Sanskrit language.

1. Vikramānkadevacarita.
Kumāra V. 84.

Some Composite Roots in Sanskrit.

By
VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, *Calcutta.*

1.

√*svad* 'to taste well, be sweet,' is held to be a simple root. But is it so in fact? Can we not think that it is a compound of the prefix *su* 'well' and the root √*ad* 'to eat'? Similarly, √*svaj*, *svañj* 'to embrace' < *su* + √*aj*, *añj* 'to drive, move,; √ *svap* 'to sleep' < *su* + √*ap* to move' (from which we have *áp-as-* 'work, *ap-ás-* 'active,' *áp-* 'water,' √*āp* 'to obtain' being another form of the same root), √*svan* 'to sound' < *su* + √*an* 'to breathe,' (the meaning 'to sound' being due to the sound of one's 'long breath') and √*svar* or *svṛ* < *su* + √.*ṛ* 'to go.' When, however, the corresponding forms of these roots in other cognate languages are taken into consideration, it becomes doubtful whether this view can be accepted in all the cases.

2.

As Pāṇini has already hinted in his grammar (vi, 1, 6), √*jakṣ* 'to devour' is nothing but the reduplicated form of √*ghas* 'to eat.' And, √*ghas*, too, in its turn, is derived from √*gras* 'to eat.' In support of this view it may be said that the word *ghāsa* which is frequently used both in Sanskrit and Prakrit has the sense not only of 'grass,' but also of 'mouthful' (*grāsa*), as well as of 'food' in Prakrit. We read in *Sūtrakṛtānga-sūtra* (I. 11, 4): "*Kaḍesu ghāsaṃ icchejjā*" *Kṛteṣu grāsam icchet*) 'one should beg food when it is prepared,' S'īlaṅka, the commentator, explains the word *ghāsa*, saying *grasyata iti grāsaḥ āhāraḥ*—'*grāsa* is food as it is eaten (swallowed). This change of √*gras* to √*ghas* which is already in the Ṛgveda is also quite in accordance with the linguistic laws. It is evident that the loss of *r* of √*gras* in √*ghas* is due to Prakritism, as from *graha* we have *gaha* in Prakrit. The only problem that presents itself here is that of g of √*gras* is aspirated, i. e. it has changed to *gh* in √*ghas*. This can, however, easily be solved. We have such words in Prakrit, as *tattha* 'there' and *jattha* 'where' from Sanskrit *tatra* and *yatra*, respectively. These Prakrit words clearly show that their immediately preceding forms were **tathra* and **jathra*, respectively. This phenomenon of aspiration is well-known in Avesta where *r* makes *k*, *t*, and *p* before it aspirates; e. g. *xratu* < *kratu* 'wisdom,' *puᵊra* < *putra* 'son,' *frotᵊma* < *pratama* (=*prathama*) 'first.' From this it can be gathered that the aspiration here is due to the aspirated sound of *r*. That there was in fact an aspirated sound of *r* in the Indo-European speech is quite evident also from Greek, owing to rough breathing in pronunciation, as is well-known in that language. It is owing to this fact that in English words derived from Greek, the letter *h* is generally added to represent that aspirated

sound of *r*, though it does not affect the pronunciation of the English words, as *rhapsody* 'epic poem, or part of it, of length for one recitation' from Latin *rhapsodia* from Greek *rhapsoidia*, or *rhetoric* 'the art of persuasive or impressive speaking or writing' from Greek *rhetorikē*.

3.

Many words derived from Prakrit √*cakkha* 'to taste' are still in use in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, e. g. *cākhā* in Bengali; *cakhnā* in Hindi. Is this root from Sanskrit √*cakṣ* 'to see, observe' from which we have *cokṣus* 'eye' ? It is quite possible if the root is taken in a wider sense. I am, however, inclined to suggest that it is from √*jaks*, a reduplicated form of √*ghas* < √*gras*. In this case the sonant *j* of √*jakṣ* has changed to the surd c as frequently found both in Pali[1] and Prakrit[2]. For the preference of the second suggestion it may be said that in this case the sense appears to be more appropriate than that in the first.

1. Geiger : *Pali Literature and Language* Eng. Tr. University of Calcutta. 1943 § 39 p. 85.

2. Pischel : *Grammatik Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, § 191,27.

On the Cases governed by some Sanskrit Particles.

By

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJI, *Calcutta.*

1. इति

The best writers of classical Sanskrit use the nominative with इति and Vāmana in his *Kāvyālankārasūtra* defends the nominative in such cases by framing the rule क्वचिन्निपातेनाभिधानम् (V, 2, 22)[1]. As Patañjali does not mention अभिधान by निपात, strict followers of the Bhāṣya like Nāgeśa resort to अध्याहार in such cases. Thus, जानामि सीता-मनघेति (*Raghu.* xiv, 40) is explained by them thus : सीता अनघा इति सीतां जानामि. That Nāgeśa is perfecty justified in holding this view is clear from sentences like the following पश्यामुम्, एष चन्द्र इति (S'aṅkara, *Chāndogya* Up. viii, 12, 1).

In the Epics and Purāṇas (1) the crude stem, (2) the vocative, (3) the nominative and (4) the accusative are all used in connexion with the particle इति.

1. *crude stem* : स एष भगवान् विष्णुः कृष्णेति परिकीर्त्यते *(Mahābhārata* ii, 1, 72). रामेति द्व्यक्षरं नाम मानभङ्गं पिनाकिनः (*Laghuman.* 384). गर्भसंक्रमणात् सोऽथ लोके संकर्षणेति वै। संज्ञामवाप्स्यते वीरः श्वेताद्रिशिखरोपमः (*Viṣṇu Pu.* v, 1, 76). आसीद्राजा पुराकल्पे विनीताश्वेति कीर्तितः (*Padma Pu. Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* XXXIV, 55). प्राग्वाटेति ददौ नाम दैत्यानां सृष्टिकृद् विभुः *ib.* XV, 107). In Sanskrit grammatical literature there is the stock example गवित्ययमाह under इतिशब्दः पदार्थ-स्वरूपविपर्यासकृत्. This is evidently a development from the use with इति of the vocative which in the case of the *a*-stems is without any ending and in the case of the *i*-stems looks like the crude stem because of contraction by sandhi.

2. *Vocative* : ऊर्जो नपात् सहसावन्निति त्वोपस्तुतस्य वन्दते वृषा वाक् (*RV*. X, 115, 8). यो मा मोघं यातुधानेत्याह (*ib.* vii. 104, 15. *AV*. viii, 4, 15). काचित् कृष्णेति कृष्णेति प्रोक्त्वा लज्जामुपागता (*Viṣṇu Pu.* v 13, 19). The context shows that कृष्ण is vocative here and not the crude stem. These may be contrasted with अद्रेः सूनुमायुमाहुः (*RV*. x, 20, 7), उत कण्वं नृषदः पुत्रमाहुः (*ib.* 31. 11.). तमेव ऋषिं तमु ब्रह्माणमाहुः (*ib.* X. 107, 6).

3. *Nominative* : गार्ग्यं गोष्ठे द्विजं स्यालः षण्ढ इत्युक्तवान् द्विजः *Viṣṇu Pu.* V, 23, 1). गान्दिनीति नाम चकार (*ib.* IV, 13, 56). This is a doubtful instance गान्दिनी may be regarded as a crude stem also and so far as the mere form is concerned इति may have been used here with the vocative. ये त्वामार्येति

1. Cf. Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. III, No. 4, PP. 26-27.

दुर्गेति वेदगर्भेऽम्बिकेति च भद्रेति भद्रकालीति क्षेम्या क्षेमङ्करीति च, प्रातश्चैवापराह्णे च स्तोष्यन्त्यानम्रमूर्तयः (*ib.* v, 1, 82. *f.*) It is very difficult to decide whether we have vocatives here or nominatives. If we regard वेदगर्भे as standing for वेदगर्भेति then the epithets are all nominatives and the word क्षेम्या used by itself without इति seems to point in the same direction. On the other hand, it is just, possible that the sandhis are irregular, आर्येति etc. standing for the vocative आर्ये etc. and इति. The more plausible view appears to be that the author has used the nominative throughout though the idea of the vocative was present in the subconscious region of his mind. तमाहुः सुप्रजा इति (RV. ix. 114. 1.) ऋषभ इति ह्येतमृषयोऽवदन् (*Taittirīya Sam.* v, 1, 5, 7). तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते (*Aitareya Brā.* xiii. 9). आसिं वै शास इत्याचक्षते (*Śat. Brā.* iii, 8, 1, 4). यस्य दक्षिणतो लक्ष्म भवति तं पुण्यलक्ष्मीक इत्याचक्षते (*ib.* viii, 4, 4, 1). प्राण इत्येवाचक्षते (*Chā. Up.* V. 1. 15). तं प्रणव इत्याचक्षते (*Mahābhoṣya* viii. 2,89)[1]. अब्रह्मदत्तं ब्रह्मदत्त इत्याह; अलिटं लिडित्याह, (*ib.* ii, 3, 69), त्वामेव सीतेत्यभिभाषमाणः (*Rāmāyaṇa* V, 36, 46). कालरात्रीति तां विद्धि (*ib.* v, 51, 35). We have the Vedic stem रात्री here rather than the crude form रात्रि. निर्वीर्य इति मन्यन्ते नूनं मां त्रिदशेश्वराः (*ib.* iii, 64, 5) महामायेति यां भवान् ब्रवीति (*Du. Sapta.* i, 55). भ्रमरीति च मां लोकास्तदा स्तोष्यन्ति सर्वतः (*ib.* xi, 50). सैरिन्ध्रीति सगर्वितं युवतिभिः साक्षेपमाख्यातया, द्रौपद्या किल मत्स्यराजभवने घृष्टं न किं चन्दनम् *Pañcatantra iii,* 175). युवतीति विद्याम् (*Cārudatta iii,* 2). मां चोर इति रक्षिपुरुषैर्ग्राहयिष्यति (*ib.*).

Instances have been multiplied here for facility of comparison with the cases where the accusative is used.

4. *Accusative :* ततोऽसुरा रौहिणमित्यग्निं चिक्यिरे (*Śat. Brā.* ii. 1. 2. 18). स घृतं दधि मस्त्वामिक्षामित्यप्सु जुहवाञ्चकार (*ib.* i, 8, 1, 7). तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् (*Katha Up.* ii, 6, 11) यं सन्न्यासमिति प्राहुर्योगं तं विद्धि पाण्डव (*Bha. Gītā* vi, 2). अधर्मं धर्ममिति या मन्यते तमसावृता (*ib.* xviii. 32), अधर्मं धर्ममित्याहुर्ये च मोहवशं गताः (*Mahābhārata* xiii, 145, 62). मूर्खानिति परानाह नात्मानं समवेक्षते (*ib. Strī Parva* xiv, 13). कैवर्तमिति यं प्राहुरार्यावर्तनिवासिनः (*Manu S.* v. 34). त्वन्मयाहं त्वदाधारा त्वत्सृष्टा त्वामुपाश्रिता, माधवीमिति लोकोऽयमभिधत्ते ततो हि माम् (*Viṣṇu Pu.* i, 4, 20). कीर्तयिष्यन्ति मनुजाः शताक्षीमिति मां ततः (*Du. Sapta* xi, 43). [Cf. भ्रमरीति च मां लोकास्तदा स्तोष्यन्ति सर्वतः (*ib* xi 50.) महामायेति यां भवान् ब्रवीति (*ib* 55). शाकम्भरीति विख्यातिं तदा यास्याम्यहं भुवि (*ib.* xi. 45)]. तामगर्भां गर्भिणीमित्याहुर्मूढाः (*Caraka Sam. Nidānasthāna* iv. 14). तस्यामु ह वा आत्मजान् कात्स्न्र्येनानुरूपान् आत्मानः पञ्च जनयामास भूतादिरिव भूतसूक्ष्माणि सुमतिं राष्ट्रभृतं सुदर्शनम् आवरणं धूम्रकेतुमिति (*Bhā. Pu.* v. 7. 3). मृतमातरमित्याश्रमपदमनयत् (*ib.* v, 8, 7). तदुपरागमिति वदति लोकः (*ib.* v. 24. 3). तस्माद् रौरवमित्याहुः···एवमेव महारौरवः (*ib.* v, 20. 11-12.) पूर्वसमयं स्मर। भीम··समयमिति। एष स्मरामि (*Madhyama Vyāyoga.*) In the two passages from the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa,* इति

1. The printed Kās'ikā (viii. 2. 89) and the printed Nyāsa (i. 2. 37) read प्रणवमिति ।

is not used in its generally accepted sense in classical Sanskrit and so the accusative has been used in connexion with the finite verb. रौहिणामिति means रौहिणं नाम and at the end of the enumeration घृतं दधि मस्त्वामिक्षाम् *iti* has been used to express that it forms a well-known aggregate. In most of the other passages the accusative appears to be one due to contamination with इव. Compare, for instance, कस्मादेवं पुमांसं सन्तं स्त्रीमिवाचक्षते (*Ait. Brā.* 20, 3) and तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते (*ib.* 13, 9). The opposite process is seen in such sentences as हरीतकीं भुङ्क्ष्व राजन् मातेव हितकारिणीम् (see *Śabdakaustubha*, ed. *Chowkhamba* p. 415).

In the passages from the *Gītā* and the *Du. Sapta.* the accusative appears to be due to the exigencies of metre. Bhāskara Rāya mentions the *paribhāṣā* छन्दोव्याकरणयोर्विरोधे छन्दो गरीयः—a maxim strictly followed in the *Epics* and *Purāṇas*. There is also the dictum अपि माषं मषं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं त्यजेद् गिरम्. In *Kumāra Sambhava* v, 28.

स्वयंविशीर्णद्रुमपर्णवृत्तिता, परा हि काष्ठा तपसस्तया पुनः ।
तदप्यपाकीर्णमतः प्रियंवदां वदन्त्यपर्णेति च तां पुराविदः ॥

Some read the last line thus : वदन्त्यपर्णामिति तां पुराविदः. Mallinātha says : अत्रापर्णामित्यपपाठः, इति-शब्दाभिहिते द्वितीयानुपपत्तेः । यथाह वामनः—निपातेनाप्यभिहिते कर्मणि न कर्म-विभक्तिः, परिगणनस्य प्रायिकत्वात् । *Kāvyālankārasūtra* v, 2, 22). Cāritravardhana says : अत्रेति-शब्देन कर्मणोऽभिहितत्वादपर्णामिति चिन्त्यम् । Nātha and Nārāyaṇa read : तदप्यपाकीर्णमतः प्रियंवदा वदन्त्यपर्णेति च तां पुराविदः where च would be significant if प्रियंवदा be taken as a feminine singular and regarded as another name of Pārvatī, but there is no reason why she should be called Priyaṃvadā because of her giving up all food even in the shape of leaves of trees. Nātha is silent on the point. Nārāyaṇa regards Priyaṃvadā as a nominative plural—an epithet of पुराविदः, च is explained thus : च-शब्दः पार्वत्याद्यपेक्षः which is further amplified thus : आभिजात्यादिश्लाघिबन्धुजनोदीरितपार्वत्यादिनामसमुच्चयार्थश्चशब्दः This appears to be a little far-fetched in view of the fact that no other name has been mentioned in the immediately preceding stanzas. We are thus between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand अपर्णामिति is difficult to defend and on the other hand च in the reading अपर्णेति च is practically meaningless (पूरणैकप्रयोजन) which is not the form of Kālidāsa. The Bengali commentator Bharata Mallika offers a laboured defence of अपर्णामिति. He says, पुनः-शब्दो वाक्यभेदे । इति-शब्दः स्वरूपमात्रद्योतने । अत एवापर्णा-शब्दात् कर्मणि द्वितीया । यदुक्तम्—इति-शब्दस्याव्ययत्वात् त्रिविधोऽर्थः-पदार्थाविर्भावकता, शक्त्याविर्भावकता, स्वरूपमात्रद्योतना च । तत्राद्य इतिशब्देन पदार्थकथनाद् विभक्तिरेव न स्यात् साधुता तु तद्विशिष्टस्यैव । यथा—कृष्णेति मङ्गलं नाम यस्य वाचि प्रवर्तते । द्वितीये तु कर्माद्दिशक्तिप्रकाशनान्न द्वितीयादिः, साध्वर्थं प्रथमामात्रम्; यथा, यामाहुः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति (शाकुन्तल १, १) । तृतीये तु स्वरूपमात्रद्योतनार्थत्वात् कर्मादिशक्तेस्तथात्वेन यथास्वं कारकाणि भवन्त्येव "राजन् गुञ्जाफलानां स्रजमिति शबरा नैव हारं विजहुः"

इति । केचित्तु इति हेतौ । एवञ्च योज्यम्- इति यस्मात् तदप्यपाकीर्णम् अतोऽपर्णां वदन्तीत्याहुः । The third example here is from the following stanza found quoted in the *Kāvya-Prakās'a* :—

> आत्ते सीमन्तरत्ने मरकतिनि हृते हेमताटङ्कपत्रे,
> लुप्तायां मेखलायां झटिति मणितुलाकोटियुग्मे गृहीते ।
> शोणं बिम्बोष्ठकान्त्या त्वदरिमृगदृशामित्वरीणामरण्ये,
> राजन् गुञ्जाफलानां स्रज इति शबरा नैव हारं हरन्ति ॥

All the printed editions of the *Kāvya-Prakās'a* read स्रज इति for स्रजमिति (स्रजः being evidently regarded as the nominative and not accusative plural) and हरन्ति for विजहुः. In the *Sūktimuktāvalī* (97, 70) also the reading is the same as that in the *Kāvya-Prakās'a*. It is just possible, however, that unmindful of the rules of grammar the poet wrote स्रजमिति which avoids the hiatus so jarring to the ear and which corresponds better with हारम् which is in the singular. Śrīvidyācakravartin felt the difficulty in the accepted reading and remarked हारमिति जातौ, एकस्य स्रगभिरसमन्वयात्. The reading विजहुः is vicious, वि √हृ being never used in the sense of हरण. Durgādāsa in his commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* (rule *281* त्यर्थं etc). expresses a different view : कृष्णेति मङ्गलं नामेत्यादाविति-शब्दस्य वर्णमात्राभिधायकत्वेन कृष्णादिशब्दस्योक्तार्थत्वेऽपि विभक्त्युत्पत्तिर्न स्यात् इतिशब्दस्यैव विभक्तिकार्यकारित्वात्, पदार्थाविर्भावकत्वे तु स्यादेव, यथा दशरथेत्युदाहृत इत्यादि. The Bengali commentator Rāmagovinda Siddhāntavāgīs'a reads : वदन्त्यपर्णां किल तां पुराविदः which appears to be the original reading.

This word इति is evidently connected with the pronominal stem इ and means this. In the *Ṛgveda* it is prevailingly used to express the words actually used by the speaker. Thus इति always comes at the end of the sentence and as it forms a different sentence it is but natural that the nominative should be used with it in classical Sanskrit.

2. धिक्

The interjection धिक् made its appearance in the language in the Brāhmaṇa period. It occurs but once in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (30, 5,) where it governs the accusative : धिक् त्वा जाल्मास्तु 'fie on you, O rogue'. In classical Sanskrit it is very generally construed with the accusative, though sometimes the vocative and the nominative also are used along with it. In the *Epics* and *Purāṇas* the instrumental and genitive are also used with धिक् in a few instances.

(*a*) When धिक् is directly connected with the person cursed or pitied it governs the accusative; e. g., धिगस्तु खलु मानुष्यं धिगस्तु परवश्यताम् (Rāmāyaṇa iv, 25, 20). This would correspond to the use of हा with acc.

(*b*) When, however, धिक् is not directly connected with the person addressed, the person is put in the vocative as usual; e. g., धिङ् मूर्ख. (Bengali दूर मूर्ख). हा is used in an exactly similar way, हा देवदत्तम् but हा देवदत्त पुत्रस्ते मृतः[1]. In *Bhaṭṭi* (*V*, *20*) :—

1. See *Durghaṭavṛtti* ii, 3, 2.

सारोऽसाविन्द्रियार्थानां यस्यासौ तस्य नन्दथुः ।
तल्पे कान्तान्तरैः सार्धं मन्येऽहं धिङ् निमज्जथुम् ॥

commentators are unanimous in holding that the acc. in निमज्जथुम् is due to its connexion with धिक्. Jayamaṅgala says : तल्पे शयनीये यस्य कान्तान्तरैः अन्यस्त्रीभिः सार्धं निमज्जथुं शयनं···तस्य धिक् कुत्सितमहं मन्ये । उभसर्वतसोरित्यादिना धिग्योगे द्वितीया. The reading appears to be corrupt here. यस्य should be changed into तस्य and तस्य dropped altogether. The *Sarvapathīnā* says : किञ्च कान्तान्तरैः एतस्यां सत्यां(?) स्त्र्यन्तरैः सार्धं तल्पे शयनीये निमज्जथुं शयनं धिक् कष्टमहं मन्ये । धिग्योगे द्वितीया······Vidyāsāgara, the commentator belonging to the Kātantra school says : कान्तान्तरैः अन्यस्त्रीभिः सार्धं तल्पे शय्यायां निमज्जथुं निमज्जनं शयनं धिक् । तयैव सार्धं युज्यते इत्यहं मन्ये ।···समयानिकषेत्यादिना कर्मप्रवचनीयाद्युपगमात्. Bharata practically copies Vidyāsāgara. In spite of this consensus of opinion and in spite of the fact that the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was composed to illustrate the rules of grammar, it is clear from the stanza that निमज्जथुम् is governed by the transitive verb मन्ये and धिक् is not an interjection but practically a predicative adjective here.

(*c*) In some cases धिक् is construed with the nominative, following the analogy of अहो. धिङ् मनुष्यशतोच्छिष्टे तुष्टिरेषां नृपासने (*Viṣṇu Pu. v*, *2*, *56*), अहो धिगेयं दरिद्रता (*Pañcatantra* ii and v). अर्थानामर्जने दुःखमर्जितानाञ्च रक्षणे । आये दुःखं व्यये दुःखं धिगर्थाः कष्टसंश्रयाः (*ib*). In all these cases धिक् is not connected immediately with the nominative but stands apart, forming, as it were, a sentence by itself. So naturally, तुष्टि, दरिद्रता etc. are put in the nominative.

(*d*) In the *Epics* धिक् is sometimes construed with the instrumental after the analogy of अलम्, कृतम् etc., धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण यस्त्वं जीवसि रावण (*Rāmāyaṇa iv*, *75*, *120*), धिग् यौवनेन जरया समभिद्रुतेन आरोग्यं धिग् विविधव्याधिपराहतेन धिग् जीवितेन विदुषो न चिरस्थितेन धिक् पण्डितस्य पुरुषस्य रतिप्रसङ्गे (*Lalitavistara*). With this use of धिक् may be compared कृतमाविष्कृतपौरुषैर्भुजैः (*Kirātārjunīya ii*, *17*), धिग् धिक् शक्रजितं प्रबोधितवता किं कुम्भकर्णेन वा (quoted in the *Kāvya Prakāśa*). धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण is thus a blend of धिगस्तु मम वीर्येण and कृतं च मम वीर्येण, धिगिन्द्रियैः परवैभवैः in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā is most extraordinary.

(*e*) The genitive is also used sometimes with धिक् : धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्य (quoted by Vardhamāna). It is interesting to note that in Pali धिक् is used with the accusative and the genitive.

(*f*) The locative is used with धिक् in the *Lalitavistara* : धिक् पण्डितस्य पुरुषस्य रतिप्रसङ्गे.

The views of some of the Sanskrit grammarians on धिक् are set forth below :—

Pāṇini does not say anything about धिक् in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, probably because the word had not yet secured a firm footing in classical Sans-

krit. Kātyāyana says : समयानिकषाहायोगेषूपसंख्यानम् (*ii, 3, 2, 1*), leaving out धिक् altogether. Patañjali quotes from predecessor who is presumably a posterior to Kātyāyana द्वितीया-विधानेऽभितःपरितःसमयानिकषाध्यधिधिग्योगेषूपसंख्यानम् and gives धिग् जाल्मम् as an illustration. He then goes on to say अपर आह, उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु । द्वितीयाम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ॥ The *Kātantra* also makes no provision for case-ending in connexion with धिक्. The Vṛttikāra says : चकाराधिकारात् निकषा-समया-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेणयुक्ताद् द्वितीया. In the *Kātantra-Vistāra* Vardhamāna frames the rule : निकषा-समया-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-युक्तात् and remarks क्रियमाननिन्द्यमानयोर्योगे द्वितीया, सामान्यप्रयोगे तु यथायथं विभक्तयः and quotes धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्य. The commentary says धिगस्तु मम वीर्यस्येत्यत्र तु मम वीर्यस्यास्तु इति सामान्यमुपक्रम्य किं तदिति जिज्ञासायां धिगित्यस्यान्वयः इति योगाभावो वाच्यः. In the *Kātantra-Parisiṣṭa* Śrīpatidatta has the rule समयानिकषतेंऽन्तरेणहाधिग्विनान्तराभिः (*Kāraka 15*) and says षष्ठयपवादत्वात् मुद्रोऽन्तरा वपुशीति(?), तथा हा तात, धिग् भ्रातः इति. Candra follows the *Bhāṣyakāra* and lays down समया-निकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-युक्तात् (*ii. 1. 50*). Similarly Śākaṭāyana frames the rule : हाधिक्समयानिकषोपर्युपर्यध्यधोऽधोऽन्तरान्तरेण तस् पर्यभिसर्वोभयैश्चाप्रधानेऽमौट् शस् (*1, 3, 100*). On this the *Amoghavṛtti* says : परार्थमप्रधानम्, प्रधानमुपकार्यम् । यदर्थमन्यदुपादीयते ततोऽन्यत्तस्योपकारकम्, यदर्थं तद्विशेषणं तत्प्रधानम्, अप्रधानमिति किम् ? प्रधानं न भवति । हा तात, धिङ्मातरित्यादौ च तातादेरामन्त्र्यतया विवक्षा न हादेर्युक्तत्वेनेति ।[1]

न भवति । हाकृतं देवदत्तस्य धिक्कृतं देवदत्तस्येत्यत्र हादेः कृते न्यग्भूतस्य न स्वयं योगः । कस्य तर्हीति चेत्, तद्विशिष्टस्य । Bhoja in his *Sarsvatīkaṇābharaṇa* lays down समया-निकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेण-येन-तेन-युक्तात् (*iii, 1, 203*) and the commentator Daṇḍanātha says in his *Hṛdayahāriṇī* : हे नाथ धिग् जाल्मेत्यादावन्तरङ्गत्वात् संबोधनविभक्तिरेव. Hemacandra has the rule : गौणात् समया-निकषा-हा-धिगन्तरान्तरेणाति-येन-तेनैर्द्वितीया (*ii, 2, 33*). In his *Bṛhadvṛtti* Hemacandra says : हा तात, धिग् जाल्म, सुभ्रु हा इत्यादावामन्त्र्यतया विवक्षा न हादि-युक्तत्वेनेति न भवति । हाकृतं चैत्रस्य धिक्कृतं मैत्रस्येत्यत्र च हा-धिक्-शब्दाभ्यां कृतशब्दे न्यग्भूतत्वात् न चैत्रादेः साक्षाद् योगः । किं तर्हि ? तद्विशिष्टेन कृतशब्देन ।

Kramadīśvara in his *Saṅkṣiptasāra* first frames the rule : हादियुक्तात् 59. It is clear from the *vṛtti* that हादि includes धिक्. The *vṛtti* says : उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्गरीयसीति 'शाखिभिर्हा हता भूयो हृदयानामुदेजयैः' इति *Bhaṭṭi* (vi, 79). The commentator Goyīcandra explains this thus : हा देवदत्तमित्यत्र हा-शब्दो रोदितृगतशोकवचनः, देवदत्तस्तु संबोध्यते लोकान्तरित इति

1. Unfortunat Durgasiṃha ! He cannot even get hold of an अनुक्त-समुच्चयार्थचकार but has to rest content with चकाराधिकार ।

सम्बोधने प्राप्तायां प्रथमायां द्वितीयेति दीक्षितेन यदुक्तं तत् कटाक्षेण दूषितम् । तथा च न सम्बुद्धाविति सूत्रकृताप्युक्तम् । हा तातेति क्रन्दितमाकर्ण्य विषण्ण इति, हा पितः क्वासि हे सुभ्रु बह्वेवं विललाप सः (भट्टिकाव्य vi 11) इत्यादयः शिष्ट-प्रयोगाश्चात्र बहव एवास्यार्थग्राहका दृश्यन्ते । या पदान्तरसम्बन्धेन विभक्तिर्विधीयते सोपपदविभक्तिः, कर्मादिसंज्ञानिमित्ता विभक्तिः कारक-विभक्तिः । उपपदविभक्तेर्विषये कारकविभक्तिप्राप्तौ किं स्यादित्याशङ्कायामाह–उपपदविभक्तेरित्यादि । हा हतेत्यत्र हा-योगेन प्राप्तां द्वितीयां बाधित्वा कर्मणि विहितेन क्तेन कर्मण उक्तत्वात् प्रथमैव भवति ।

Kramadīs'vara in a later rule distinctly says : न संबुद्धौ (Kāraka 67 संबुद्धौ हादि-योगे द्वितीया न भवति. Vopadeva in his *Mugdhabodha* gives the first place to धिक् in the rule : धिक्-समया-निकषा-हान्तरान्तरेणैनातियेन-तेनाभ्युभय-परि-सर्वतो-विनर्तेऽभिपरि-प्रत्यनूप-द्व्युपर्यधोऽधिभिः (288). Similarly the *Supadma* has the rule समयानिकषान्तरान्तरेणहाधिगधोधोऽध्यध्युपरिभिश्च (*ii, 2, 13*). On this the *Supadma Vivaraṇapañjikā* says कथं वासवदत्तायां धिगिन्द्रियैः परवैभवैरिति ? तदुक्तम् उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसीति न्यायाद् व्यभिचारोऽपि. Bhaṭṭoji says in his *S'abdakaustubha* (ed. *Chowkhambā* p. 665) ततोऽन्यत्रापीत्युक्तम् । तान् परिगणयति वृत्तिकारः–अभितः परितः–समया-निकषा-हा-प्रति-योगेऽपीति ।....षष्ठ्यपवादो द्वितीया । संबोधने त्वन्तरङ्गत्वात्प्रथमैव हा तातेति यथा । एतेन धिङ्मूर्खेति प्रयोगो व्याख्यातः.

Nages'abhaṭṭa says in his *Manjūṣā* (ed. *Chowkhamba*, p. 1188). धिङ् मूर्खेत्यादौ क्रियाध्याहारे प्रथमा तदभावे द्वितीयेत्याहुः. Regarding sentences like धिग् मम वीर्यस्य Nages'a says : यासामुपपदविभक्तीनां तत्तद्विशेषसंबन्धे विधानं तत्र तेषां संबन्धानां विशेषरूपेणाविवक्षायां संबन्धत्वेन विवक्षायां षष्ठ्येव । स्पष्टं चेदं चतुर्थी तदर्थेति सूत्रभाष्ये ।

३ ऋते

ऋते is the locative singular of ऋत past participle of √ऋ to 'go' according to Indian grammarians and √ऋ to 'separate' according to western scholars, who consider it to be cognate with Skt. विरल, Eng. *rare*, etc. In the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* it governs the ablative only. In the *Mai-trāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas* it begins to be construed with the accu-sative probably after the analogy of विना. In the *Mahābhārata* it follows the analogy of विना still further and is used with the accusative, instrumental and ablative. Pāṇini, Sarvavarman and Devanandin prescribe the perfectly logical ablative alone in connexion with ऋते. Later grammarians prescri-be both the ablative and the accusative. Thus Candra frames the rule: ऋते द्वितीया च (iv, 1, 84). The *vṛtti* says : ऋते-शब्देन योगे द्वितीया भवति, पञ्चमी च. Similarly Śākaṭāyana has पञ्चमी चर्ते (i, 3, 191). The *vṛtti* says : ऋते-शब्देन युक्ते द्वितीयापञ्चम्यौ भवतः. Hemacandra has ऋते द्वितीया च (ii. 2. 114) and says in his Bṛhadvṛtti द्वितीयां नेच्छन्त्येके.

(*a*) Accusative with ऋते :—स वै त्वष्टा पुत्रे हते सोममाहरद्दत इन्द्रम्

(*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* ii, 4). वृषाकपिमृते कुन्तापमन्यूङ्खं ब्राह्मणाच्छंसी (*Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta xii, 6, 13*). ऋतेऽर्थवादं कर्मैतदिन्द्रस्येति शंसति (*Bṛhaddevatā iii, 104*). न स्याद् वनमृते व्याघ्रान् व्याघ्रा न स्युर्ऋते वनम् (*Mahābhārata Udyoga Parva xxxiv, 46*). Careful writers of classical Sanskrit like Kālidāsa and others never use the accusative in connexion with ऋते. Followers of Pāṇini defend sentences like क्व कर्म प्रध्वस्तं फलति पुरुषाराधनमृते (*Mahimnaḥstotra*) with the help of the dictum ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते already quoted. The *Durghaṭavṛtti* (*ii, 3, 2*) prefers to resort to योगविभाग.

(*b*) Instrumental with ऋते :—नहि ते जातु शाम्येरन्नृते राज्येन कौरव (*Mahābhārata Udyoga* cxxxviii, 3), ऋते दधिघृतेनेह न यज्ञः संप्रवर्तते (*ibid. Anuśāsana lxxxviii-2*), न च शक्योऽन्यथा जेतुमृते युद्धेन माधव (*ibid. Śalya xxiv, 39*). ततोऽब्रवीत् सुरान् शक्रो न मे शक्या महासुराः । ऋतेऽस्थिभिर्दधीचस्य निहन्तुं त्रिदशद्विषः (*Śalya* l. *1, 27*) नह्येतत् तर्कया शक्यं वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि । ऋते देवप्रसादाद्वा राजन् ज्ञानागमने वा (*ibid. Śānti ccc, xxxiv. 6*). रौक्ष्यात् कषायभावाच्च तथा स्नेहगुणैर्ऋते । न श्लेष्मा मधुना सार्धं देहे पर्यवतिष्ठते (*Bhelasaṃhitā p. 67*). All these are आर्षप्रयोगs and would be considered solecism in classical Sanskrit.

(*c*) Ablative with ऋते :—यस्मान्न ऋते विजयन्ते जनासः (*RV. ii, 12, 9*). नेन्द्रादृते पवते धाम किञ्चन (*ibid, ix, 69, 6*). कथं क्यं त्वदृते स्याम (*Ait. Brāh. v. 1*) etc. etc.

कतिपयानाम् अव्ययानाम् आभिधानिकवैचित्र्याणि[1]

निबन्धकः—तारापाद-चतुर्धुरीणः, पटना

अकस्मात् [अ+कस्मात्] (१) न कस्माच्चित् कारणात्, (२) अतर्कितम्, (१) **रघु. १४, ७३** : उत्खातलोकत्रयकण्टकेऽपि सत्यप्रतिज्ञेऽप्यविकत्थनेऽपि । त्वां प्रत्यकस्मात् कलुषप्रवृत्तावस्त्येव मन्युर्भरताग्रजे मे ॥ (२) **भट्टि. ७, ३०** : सुग्रीवान्तिकमासेदुः साधयिष्याम इत्यरिम् । करिष्यन्त इवाकस्माद् भुवनं निर्दशाननम् ॥ आकस्मिक—**संसा. ४, १३२१** : °प्रत्यवभासाश्च देवीं वाचमित्यादि (**उच. २, ४, ५**)।

अञ्जस् [(√अञ्ज्+अस्)+क्ली. द्वि.१ क्रिवि.] **अञ्जसा** [अञ्जस्+तृ.१; तु. **पावा. ६, ३, ३, १** : स्वरादिः **गम. १५**] (१) अनायासेन (२) आर्जवेन (३) द्रुतम् (४) तत्त्वतः, सम्यक्, यथावत् । (१) **भाग. ७, ९, १८** : अञ्जस्तितर्म्यनुगृणन् गुणविप्रमुक्तो दुर्गाणि ते पदयुगालयहंससङ्गः ॥ (२) **अवे. १८, २, ५३** : **अञ्जोयानैः पथिभिस्तत्र गच्छतम् ।** (३) **ऋवे. १, ३२, २** : **अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्यं ततक्ष । वाश्रा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः ॥** **भाग. १०, २६, १९** : एष वः श्रेय आधास्यद् गोपगोकुलनन्दनः । अनेन सर्वदुर्गाणि यूयमञ्जस्तरिष्यथ ॥ (४) **भाग. ६, १८, ४५** : पुत्रस्ते भविता भद्रे इन्द्रहा देवबान्धवः । संवत्सरं व्रतमिदं यद्यञ्जो धारयिष्यसि ॥ विशेषणमात्रं तु सारल्यार्थे **जै. उप. ब्रा. ३, ७, ४** : यद्ध यज्ञस्याञ्जो यत् सुविदितं तद्ध स्मैव पृच्छति । विशेष्यमात्रं पुनः सारल्यवाचि **पावा. ६, ३, ३, १** : अञ्जस उपसंख्यानं (तृतीयाया अलुक्) अञ्जसाकृतम् । °**यान- अवे.**, °**सव- शब्रा., ऐब्रा.**, °**पा- ऋवे.** । **अञ्जसा** (१) **वासं. ५, ५** : **अञ्जसा सत्यमुप गेषं स्विते मा धाः ।** (प्रगुणेन मार्गेणेति उवटः, ऋजुमार्गेणेति महीधरः) । **भाग. ४, ३०, ३२** : पारिजातेऽञ्जसा लब्धे सारङ्गोऽन्यन्न सेवते । त्वदङ्घ्रिमूलमासाद्य साक्षात् किं किं वृणीमहे ॥ (२) **ऋवे. ६, ५४, १** : **सं पूषन्विदुषा नय यो अञ्जसानुशासति । य एवेदमिति ब्रवत् ॥** **१०, ७३, ७** : **त्वं चकर्थ मनवे स्योनान्पथो देवत्राञ्जसेव यानान् ॥** **शब्रा. १३, ५, ३, ६** : **अञ्जसा यज्ञस्य संस्थामुपैति न ह्वलतीति ॥** **भाग. १, १, ९** : तत्र तत्राञ्जसायुष्मन् भवता यद्विनिश्चितम् । पुंसामेकान्ततः श्रेयस्तन्नः शंसितुमर्हसि ॥ (३) **क्षीर. ३, ४, २** : यज्वाञ्जसा जयति ब्रह्मलोकम् । **गम. १५** : सुतनु कथय कस्य व्यञ्जयन्त्यञ्जसैव । (४) **ऋवे. ६, १६, ३** : **वेत्था हि वेधो अध्वनः पथश्च देवाञ्जसा । अग्ने यज्ञेषु सुक्रतो ॥** **श्वेश्वा. उप. ४, ४, १५** : यदैतमनुपश्यत्यात्मानं देवमञ्जसा । ईशानं भूतभव्यस्य न ततो विजुगुप्सते ॥ **कुसं. ६, २२** : साक्षाद्दृष्टोऽसि न पुनर्विद्मस्त्वां वयमञ्जसा । प्रसीद कथयात्मानं न धियां पथि वर्तसे ॥ °**अयन- (बहु.) नैसं., ऐब्रा.** ।

१ अत्र प्रयुक्ताः संकेताः प्रायेण सुगमाः । ये तु न तथा प्रतीयेरन् ते तावद् इमे—अवे.=अथर्ववेदः । असं.=अनेकार्थसंग्रहः । उच.=उत्तरचरितम् । उप.=उपनिषत् । ऋवे.=ऋग्वेदः । ऐब्रा.=ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम् । कथा.=कथासरित्सागरः । कल्प.=कल्पद्रुमकोषः । काशि.=काशिका । किरा.=किरातार्जुनीयम् । कुसं.=कुमारसंभवम् । क्षीर.=क्षीरस्वामिकृतामरटीका । गम.=गणरत्नमहोदधिः । ग्रास.=Grassmann । जामा.=जातकमाला । ताब्रा.=ताण्ड्यब्राह्मणम् । तैसं.=तैत्तिरीयसंहिता । दश.=दशकुमारचरितम् । दुर्गा.=दुर्गादासः । निरु.=निरुक्तम् । प्रक्रिटी.=प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका । बोरो.=Böhtlingk & Roth । ब्रसू.=ब्रह्मसूत्रम् । भाग.=भागवतपुराणम् । मोवि.=Monier Monier-Williams । मुग्ध.=मुग्धबोधम् । मेक.=Macdonell । मैसं.=मैत्रायणी संहिता । शब्रा.=शतपथब्राह्मणम् । संसा.=संक्षिप्तसारम् । ह्वि.=Whitney । तु.=तुलनीयम् । प्र.=प्रथमा । द्वि.=द्वितीया प्रभृ. ।

अतीव [अति+इव—इति निपातसमुदायोऽत्यन्तार्थे मल्लि. माघ. १४, ६०] स्वरादिः गम. १५। अतिक्रम्येव, अत्यन्तम्। भट्टि. १०, २५ : गरुडानिलतिग्मरश्मयः पततां यद्यपि सम्मता जवे। अचिरेण कृतार्थमागतं तममन्यन्त तथाप्यतीव ते॥ (तेभ्योऽधिकजवं मेनिरे मल्लि.)। माघ. १४, ६० : ध्येयमेकमपथे स्थितधियः स्तुत्यमुत्तममतं तवाक्पथम्। आमनन्ति यमुपास्यमादराद् दूर-वर्तिनमतीव योगिनः। >°तराम् माघ. ४, २५।

अन्तरा [अन्तर्+आ, तु. अन्तर् आ ऋवे. १, १०५, १ : चन्द्रमा अप्स्वन्तरा सुपर्णो धावते दिवि। इत्यादि आस. <अन्तर् द्वि: मोवि.] (१) मध्ये (प्रायेण द्वयोः), (२) विनार्थे, (३) विषयनिर्देशे, (४) सन्निधावपि केचित् (असं, विश्व., मोवि.)। एतद्योगे द्वितीया पा. २,३,४। वेदे (१) एव। (१) ऋवे ३ ४०,९ : यदन्तरा परावतमर्वावतं च हूयसे। इन्द्रेह तत आ गहि॥ १०,८८,१५ : यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं च। १०,१६२,४ : यस्त ऊरू विहरत्यन्तरा दम्पती शये। अन्तरा त्वां च मां च कमण्डलुः काशि. २, ३, ४। कृष्णोऽन्तरा ब्रह्मशम्भू मुग्ध. २४४। जामा. १९, २० : अथ मारः……अन्तरा च तं भवन्तमन्तरा च द्वारदेहलीं…नरकमभिनिर्ममे। युक्तस्यैक-त्वेऽपि माघ. २०, ५४ : उपमानमलम्भि लोलपक्षक्षणविक्षिप्तमहाम्बुवाहमत्स्यैः। गगनार्णवमन्तरा सुमेरोः कुलजानां गरुडैरिलाधराणाम्॥ एतद्योगे षष्ठ्यपि क्वचित् भाग. ४, २१, ११ : गङ्गा-यमुनयोर्नद्योरन्तरा क्षेत्रमावसन्। आरब्धानेव बुभुजे भोगान् पुण्यजिहासया॥ ३, २९, २६ : च। रघु. १२, ९३ : विक्रमव्यतिहारेण सामान्याभूद् द्वयोरपि। जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव॥ (२) भाग. १२, ४, २६ : विकारः ख्यायमानोऽपि प्रत्यगात्मानमन्तरा। न निरूप्योऽस्त्यणुरपि स्याच्चे-च्चित्सम आत्मवत्॥ ४, २८, ५४। (३) भट्टि. ८, ९४ : ततः खड्गं समुद्यम्य रावणः क्रूरविग्रहः। वैदेहीमन्तरा क्रुद्धः क्षणमूचे विनिश्वसन्॥ वैदेहीविषये वैदेहीं प्रति वा क्रुद्ध इत्यर्थः। भरतमल्लिनाथ-जयमङ्गलानां मध्यवाचित्वेन व्याख्याप्रयत्नाः प्रत्येकमुद्भावनापाटवं सूचयन्तोऽपि न सहृदयहृदयङ्गमाः। अन्तरेण-शब्दस्यापि समानार्थे प्रयोगो विमृश्यताम्। (४) उदाहरणं मृग्यम्। विमृश्यं तु अन्तराभरः इति ऋवे. ८, ३२, १२॥ क्रियाविशेषणमात्रमपि : (१) रघु. १५, २० : सौमित्रेर्निशितैर्बाणैरन्तरा शकलीकृतः। गात्रं पुष्परजः प्राप न शाखी नैर्ऋतेरितः॥ नैष. २०, ६५ : मौनिन्यामेव सा तस्यां तदुक्तीरिव शृण्वती। वादं वादं मुहुश्चक्रे हुं हुमित्यन्तरान्तरा॥ बहिः प्रातिलोम्ये माघ. १६, १९ : प्रकटं मृदु नाम जल्पतः परुषं सूचयतोऽर्थमन्तरा। शकुनादिव मार्गवर्तिभिः पुरुषादुद्विजितव्यमी-दृशात्॥ °अंस- (षष्ठीतत्पु.), °भर्- (उपपद.), °भव- (सहसुपा), °वेदि- (कर्म.), °शृङ्गम् (अव्य.) मोवि., अजित° (बहु.) भाग. १०, २, २० : तद्° जामा १७३,६ : यद्° (तत्.) भाग. १०, ८७, ४१; >°ल- क्ली.

अमुत्र [अदस्>अमु+त्र] = अमुष्मिन् : (२) स्थाने, (३) स्थले = पूर्वोक्त, (४) लोके = परलोके, (५) अत्र (?)। (१) निरु. ४, २५ : अमुत्र चन्द्रमसो गृहं। काव्यप्र. अन्त्यश्लो., इत्येष मार्गो विदुषां विभिन्नोऽप्यभिन्नरूपः प्रतिभासते यत्। न तद् विचित्रं यदमुत्र सम्यग् विनिर्मिता संघटनैव हेतुः॥ (२) अवे. १३,१,३९ : अमुत्र सन्निह वेत्थेतः संस्तानि पश्यसि। इतः पश्यन्ति रोचनं दिवि सूर्यं विपश्चितम्॥ (३) शब्रा. ३, ९, १,३६ : तस्मादमुत्रैवाङ्गुलीन्यचेदमुत्र वाचं यच्छेत्। (४) अवे. ८, १, १८ : अयं देवा इहैवास्त्वयं मामुत्र गादितः। इमं सहस्रवीर्येण मृत्योरुत्पार-यामसि॥ वासं. १७, २ : एता मे अग्न इष्टका धेनवः सन्त्वमुत्रामुष्मिल्लोके। भाग. ८, १९, ३७ : धर्माय यशसेऽर्थाय कामाय स्वजनाय च पञ्चधा विभजन् वित्तमिहामुत्र च मोदते॥ (५) कथा. २४, २०८ : अनेनैवार्भकाः सर्वे नगरेऽमुत्र भक्षिताः॥ °भूय (क्ली. +√भू+क्यप् भावे), °अर्थ- (नित्य.) वि. मनु. ७, ९५।

अयि (१) कोमलसम्बोधने, (२) सानुनये, (३) प्रश्नविशिष्टे। (१) उच. १,२७,२८ : अयि विप्रयोगत्रस्ते, चित्रमेतत्। भाग. ८,१२,४३ : अयि व्यपश्यस्त्वमजस्य मायां परस्य पुंसः परदेवतायाः। अहं कलानामृषभोऽपि मुह्ये ययाऽवशोऽन्ये किमुतास्वतन्त्राः ॥ (२) कुसं. ४, २८ : अयि सम्प्रति देहि दर्शनं स्मर पर्युत्सुक एष माधवः। दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जने ॥ (३) कुसं. ५, ६२ : अगूढसद्भावमितीङ्गितज्ञया निवेदितो नैष्ठिकसुन्दरस्तया। अयीदमेवं परिहास इत्युमामपृच्छद्व्यञ्जितहर्षलक्षणः ॥

अलला° [अनुकरणशब्दः] (अपां) सहर्षध्वनौ। ऋवे. ४, १८, ६ : एता अर्षन्त्यललाभवन्तीऋतावरीरिव सङ्क्रोशमानाः। एता वि पृच्छ किमिदं भनन्ति कमापो अद्रिं परिधिं रुजन्ति ॥

अवश्यम् [अ°+वश्य+क्ली. द्वि. १, क्रिवि.] कर्तुर्वशं न गच्छति यथा तथाः निश्चितम् [नित्ये वैज., अङ्गीकारे (=बाढम्) कल्प., नित्ये असं., प्रयत्ने मोवि.]। विभक्त्यवयवत्वादेव चास्य मकारः, अद्यापि समासे कृत्येषु द्वित्रेषु शब्दान्तरेषु च परेषु लुप्यते। गम. १५-१६ : अवश्यं यातारश्चिरतरमुषित्वापि विषयाः। मेघ. १, १० : तां चावश्यं दिवसगणनातत्परामेकपत्नीमव्यापन्नामविहतगतिर्द्रक्ष्यसि भ्रातृजायाम्। संसा. १, १२५ : सम्बन्धानुभवोऽवश्यमेषणीयश्च लिङ्गिन इति भट्टवार्त्तिकम्। °कारिन्-, °भाविन्। (°श्य°) °कर्मन्-ऐश्रा, °कार्याणि (महाभा.) उभावावश्यककर्मपरौ। मोवि. °मृत्यु-जामा. १८४, ११; °कर्तव्य-, °कृत्य-, °अभ्युपगन्तव्य-, °प्रादुर्भाव्य-, °अङ्गीकरणीय-,—संसा. १, १२४-१२५; °पचेलिम-(दुर्गा. ३८९)। >आवश्यक-(१) क्ली. (=अवश्यम्भाव-काशि. ३, १, १२५), (२) वि.।

अहहहह अतीव विस्मये। जामा. २१६, ११-१३ : अहहहह। आश्चर्याणां बताश्चर्यमद्भुतानां तथाद्भुतम्। सत्यौदार्यं नृपस्येदमतिमानुषदैवतम् ॥

आत् [इदम्>अ+पं. १] अस्मात् (परम्) : (१) अनन्तरम्; प्रायेण यद्, यदा, यदि इत्येतैः सापेक्षत्वेन प्रयुज्यते, क्वचिच्च अह, इद्, ईम्, उ इत्यादीनामन्यतमेन समर्थितः। (२) किञ्च, अपि च; अत्रार्थे उ, च इत्यनयोरन्यतरेणापि संबद्धः। (३) प्रश्नद्योतकशब्दादनन्तरम्, तस्यैव बलाधाने। (१) ऋवे. १, १८, ८ : आदृध्नोति हविष्कृतिं प्राञ्चं कृणोत्यध्वरम्। होत्रा देवेषु गच्छति ॥ १, ११६, १० : जुजुरुषो नासत्योत वव्रिं प्रामुञ्चतं द्रापिमिव च्यवानात्। प्रातिरतं जहितस्यायुर्दस्रादित् पतिमकृणुतं कनीनाम् ॥ अवे. ६, २२, १ : कृष्णं नियानं हरयः सुपर्णा अपो वसाना दिवमुत्पतन्ति। त आववृत्रन्सदनादृतस्यादिद् घृतेन पृथिवीं व्यूदुः ॥ छा. उप. १, ५, २ : कौषीतकिः पुत्रमुवाच रश्मींस्त्वं पर्यावर्तयाद् बहवो वै ते भविष्यन्ति। (२) अवे. ४, ९, ८ : त्रयो दासा आञ्जनस्य तक्मा बळास आदहिः। वर्षिष्ठः पर्वतानां त्रिककुन्नाम ते पिता ॥ ऋवे. ८, ९१, ६ : असौ च या न उर्वरादिमां तन्वं मम। अथो ततस्य यच्छिरः सर्वा ता रोमशा कृधि ॥ ८, ८२, ३ : इषा मन्दस्वादु तेऽरं वराय मन्यवे। भुवत्त इन्द्र शं हृदे ॥ (३) ऋवे. ४, २३, ६ : किमादमत्रं सख्यं सखिभ्यः कदा नु ते भ्रात्रं प्र ब्रवाम। श्रिये सुदृशो वपुरस्य सर्गाः स्वर्ण चित्रतममिष आ गोः ॥ १, ३३, १ : एतायामोप गव्यन्त इन्द्रमस्माकं सु प्रमतिं वावृधाति। अनामृणः कुविदादस्य रायो गवां केतं परमावर्जते नः ॥ °अ.त् आतिः पा. ५, ३, ३४ : उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः अस्तातेरर्थे ॥ आतिप्रत्ययान्ता इमे वस्तुतः पञ्चम्येकवचनान्ता अव्ययीभवनलक्षणेन स्वरव्यत्ययेन (मेक. १०७, ह्वि. १११४ द्रि) सनाथीकृताः। न खल्विम एव, अन्येऽपि तावद् बहवो विशेष्यविशेषणसर्वनामशब्दा एवमव्ययत्वमापन्नाः। तद्यथा- विशेष्याणि, आरात्, आसात्, बलात् इत्यादिषु; विशेषणानि, दूरात्, नीचात्, पश्चात्, साक्षात्,

प्रत्ययागमात्, प्रत्यन्तात् इत्यादिषु; सर्वनामानि, अकस्मात्, आत्, तात्, यात् इत्यादिषु; स्वरव्यत्ययस्तु अपाकात्, अमात्, सनकात्, सनात्, इत्यादिष्वपि दृष्टः। विशेषस्त्वयमेव यदुत्तरादिर्दिग्देशकालवाची।

आरभ्य [आ+√रभ्+ल्यप्] अवधिनिर्देशे; अवधिवाचिनि पञ्चमीप्रयोजकः। उपक्रम्येत्यस्य वैयुत्पत्तिकोऽर्थः साम्प्रतिकोऽवधिश्चास्य पुराधिकरणमासीत्, अर्थान्तरापत्तेरेव चात्र पञ्चमी आगता। यौगिकस्य प्रयोगस्त्वधुनापि न वार्यते। भाग. ७, १, १७: दमघोषसुतः पाप आरभ्य कलभाषणात्। संप्रत्यमर्षी गोविन्दे दन्तवक्रश्च दुर्मतिः॥ माघ. १, ४४: अवापुरारभ्य ततश्चला इति प्रवादमुच्चैरयशस्करं श्रियः॥ क्वचिदेतद्योगे द्वितीयापि भाग. ८, १६, ४८: प्रतिपद्दिनमारभ्य यावच्छुक्लत्रयोदशीम्। ब्रह्मचर्यमधःस्वप्नं स्नानं त्रिषवणं चरेत्॥ श्रीधरस्वाम्यपि भाग. ७, १, १७: इत्यस्य व्याख्यायाम्, 'कलभाषणात् बाल्ये कोमलभाषणमारभ्य सम्प्रति अधुनापि अमर्षी' इत्यादि। दुर्गा. त्वाह (मुग्ध. ३०१) 'प्रातःकालं समारभ्य जपेन्मध्यदिनावधि' इत्यादिकन्तु उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्गरीयसीति न्यायात् कर्मणि द्वितीयेति।

आरात् [*आर (√ऋ प्रेरणे क्षेपणे, यतो दूरार्थनिष्पत्तिः अरण-, अरण्य- इत्येतयोरपि दृष्टा आस.)+पं. १; तु. आरे] (१) दूरात्, लोके तु (२) सामीप्येऽपि। पञ्चम्यन्तयुक्, केवलो वा। ऋवे. ५, २, ३: हिरण्यदन्तं शुचिवर्णमारात् क्षेत्रादपश्यमायुधा मिमानम्॥ अवे. १, १९, १: मा नो विदन् विव्याधिनो मा अभिव्याधिनो विदन्। आराच्छरव्या अस्मद्विषूचीरिन्द्र पातय॥ ऋवे. ६, ५६, ५: आरात् पूषन्नसि श्रुतः। १०, ४२, ६: आराच्चित्सन् भयतामस्य शत्रुः। काशि. २, ३, २९: आराद् देवदत्तात्। माघ. ३, ३१: दिदृक्षमाणाः प्रतिरथ्यमीयुर्मुरारिमारादनघं जनौघाः। (२) भट्टि. ८, १०४: तं दृष्ट्वाचिन्तयत् सीता हेतोः कस्यैष रावणः। अवरुह्य तरोरारादैति वानरविग्रहः॥ भाग. २, ७, १४; ८, १८, २१; माघ. ८, २७। एतद्योगे क्वचिद् द्वितीयापि: शाकु. ५, ३०: सा निन्दन्ती स्वानि भाग्यानि बाला बाहूत्क्षेपं क्रन्दितुं च प्रवृत्ता। स्त्रीसंस्थानञ्चाप्सरस्तीर्थमाराद् उत्क्षिप्याङ्के ज्योतिरेनां तिरोऽभूत्॥ सामीप्यार्थस्य प्राप्तिविषये विमृश्यताम् ऋवे. १, १२९, ९: सचस्व नः पराक आ सचस्वास्तमीक आ। पाहि नो दूरादारादभिष्टिभिः सदा पाह्यभिष्टिभिः॥ यत्र ग्रासमानेनाप्युक्तमत्र आसाद् इति सम्भावितमासीदिति। (३) अदूरादित्यर्थादेव शीघ्रमित्यपि। भाग. ३, १७, ३०: तं वीरमारादभिपद्य विस्मयः शयिष्यसे वीरशये श्वभिर्वृतः॥ १, १४, ११; ऊर्वक्षिबाहवो मह्यं स्फुरन्त्यङ्ग पुनः पुनः। वेपथुश्चापि हृदय आराद् दास्यन्ति विप्रियम्॥ > आरातीय-काशि. ४, २, १०४: °तात्।

आरे [*आर+स. १; आरात् द्रष्टव्यताम्] (१) दूरे > (२) बहिः, विना वा। एतद्युक्तात् प्रायेण पञ्चमीष्यते, क्वचित् षष्ठ्यपि। (१) ऋवे. १, ११४, ४: आरे अस्मद् दैव्यं हेळो अस्यतु सुमतिमिद् वयमस्या वृणीमहे। ३, ३९, ८: ज्योतिर्यज्ञाय रोदसी अनु ष्यादारे स्याम दुरितस्य भूरेः। (२) २, २८, ६: अपो सु म्यक्ष वरुण भियसं मत्सम्राळृतावोऽनु मा गृभाय। दामेव वत्साद्वि मुमुग्ध्यंहो नहि त्वदारे निमिषश्चनेशे॥ ६, ४७, ३: अयं मे पीत उदियर्ति वाचमयं मनीषामुशतीमजीगः। अयं षळुर्वीरमिमीत धीरो न याभ्यो भुवनं कच्चनारे °अघ-(बहु.), °अवद्य-(बहु.), °शत्रु-(बहु.)।

आषू मार्जारक्षवथोरनुकरणभूतो निधनविशेषः। तांब्रा. ८, २, २: कण्वो वा एतत् सामर्ते निधनमपश्यत् स न प्रत्यतिष्ठत्स वृषदंशस्याषिति क्षुवत उपाशृणोत्स तदेव निधनमपश्यत् ततो वै स प्रत्यतिष्ठत्। °कार-तांब्रा ८, १, १ प्रभृ.।

इत्थात् [*इत्थ+पं. १? तु. **इत्थम्**; **इत्था**]=इत्थम् **मोवी.**, 'इतः' इत्यर्थस्तु प्रतिभाति । जै. उप. ब्रा. १,२,६ : तदेतदाहुरिदानीं वा अयमितोऽवासीदित्थेत्थाद् दातीति । **शब्रा.** १३,४,४,५ : **एकविंशत्येतेयूपाः । सर्वएकविंशत्यरत्नयो राज्जुदालोऽग्निष्ठो भवति पैतुदारवावभितः षड् बैल्वास्त्रय इत्थात्त्रय इत्थात् षट् खादिरास्त्रय एवेत्थात्त्रय इत्थात्......।** ३,२,३,२३ : **स वै पञ्च प्रायणीये देवता यजति । पञ्चोदयनीये तस्मात्पञ्चेत्थादङ्गुलयः पञ्चेत्थात् ।** किन्तु विमृश **शब्रा.** २,६,१,१८ : **ते सर्वेऽएव यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा । इत्थाद्यजमानश्च ब्रह्मा च पश्चात्परीतः पुरस्तादग्नीत् ।** 'अमुत्र'-अर्थस्तु स्पष्ट एव **शब्रा.** १४,१,२,१ : **स यद्वाऽएनानित्थाचेत्थाच्च सम्भरति तत्सम्भाराणा** संभारत्वं **स वै यत्र-यत्र यज्ञस्य न्यक्तं ततस्ततः सम्भरति ।**

इदा [इदम्>इ+दा **पा.** ५,३,२०] अस्मिन् काले । **ऋवे.** ६,६५,४ : **इदा हि वो विधते रत्नमस्तीदा वीराय दाशुष उषासः । इदा विप्राय जरते यदुक्था नि ष्म मावते वहथा पुरा चित् ॥** षष्ठ्यन्तेन अहन्शब्देन ह्यः इत्यनेन चायं बहुशः प्रयुज्यते । **ऋवे.** ४,१०,५ : **तव स्वादिष्ठाऽग्ने संदृष्टिरिदा चिदह्न इदा चिदक्तोः । श्रिये रुक्मो न रोचत उपाके ॥** ८,९९,१ : **त्वामिदा ह्यो नरोऽपीप्यन् वज्रिन् भूर्णयः । स इन्द्र स्तोमवाहसामिह श्रुध्युप स्वसरमा गहि ॥** °वत्सर-

उत् **प्राक्री. टी.** १,-३०८ : 'अप्यर्थे'—उदरमन्तरं कुरुते । अरमप्यल्पमप्यन्तरं कुरुत इत्यर्थः' विमृश्यताम् **भाग.** ३, २९,२६ : आत्मनश्च परस्यापि यः कुर्यादन्तरोदरम् । तस्य भिन्नदृशो मृत्युर्विदधे भयमुल्बणम् ॥ 'अन्तरा अन्तरं भेदम् उत् अपि अरम् अल्पम् । अल्पमपि भेदं यः पश्यतीत्यर्थः । यद्वा अन्तरा मध्ये उदरं शरीरम्' श्रीधरः । तदेतस्य सर्वस्यापि तु मूलं **तै. उप.** २,७ : यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नदृश्येऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिलयनेऽभयं प्रतिष्ठां विन्दते । अथ सोऽभयं गतो भवति । यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नुदरमन्तरं कुरुते । अथ तस्य भयं भवति ॥ एवमेव शङ्करः **ब्रसू.** १,१,१९ ।

उदयम् [अस्तः (पर्वतः) : उदयः (पर्वतः : अस्तम् (अव्ययम्) : उदयम् (अव्ययम्) इत्येवं सादृश्यनिबन्धनं प्रयोगवैचित्र्यम्] उदयकाले **मल्लि. कुसं** ८,५२ : निर्मितेषु पितृषु स्वयम्भुवा या तनुः सुतनु पूर्वमुज्झिता । सेयमस्तमुदयं च सेव्यते तेन मानिनि ममात्र गौरवम् ॥

उदस्तात् [उद् (+अस्)+तात् : पुरस्तादधस्तादवस्तादित्येतैरापातसादृश्यादुद्भूतः] उपरिष्टात् । **भाग.** ३,१८,८ : स गामुदस्तात् सलिलस्य गोचरे विन्यस्य तस्यामदधात् स्वसत्त्वम् । अभिष्टुतो विश्वसृजा प्रसूनैरापूर्यमाणो विबुधैः पश्यतोऽरेः ॥ तथा २,२,२४ ।

उपरिष्टात् [उपरि (+स्)+तात्] (१) उपर्यर्थे, शुद्धः द्वितीयापञ्चमीषष्ठीयुक् वा (पाणिनिमते त्वेतद्योगे सर्वत्र षष्ठ्येव, तु. २,३,३०), (२) पश्चादर्थे, शुद्धः षष्ठ्यन्तयुक् वा, (३) अग्रेऽर्थे ग्रन्थविषयपरामर्शे, (४)=परस्तात्, (५) विषयीकरणे, षष्ठ्यन्तयुक् । (१) **ऋवे.** ९,९१,४ : **रुजा दळ्हा चिद्रक्षसः सदांसि पुनान इन्द ऊर्णुहि वि वाजान् । वृश्चोपरिष्टात् तुजता वधेन ये अन्ति दूरादुपनायमेषाम् ॥ शब्रा.** १,६,१,२१ : **उपरिष्टादाज्यस्याभिघारयति** । १३,३,६,४ : **पुरुष उपरिष्टात् पशूनधितिष्ठति** । **भाग.** ४,९,२५ : ततो गन्तासि मत्स्थानं सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् । उपरिष्टादृषिभ्यस्त्वं यतो नावर्तते यतिः ॥ एवं ५,२२,८;५,२६,५ । **माघ.** ११,३ : स्फुटतरमुपरिष्टादल्पमूर्तेर्ध्रुवस्य स्फुरति सुरमुनीनां मण्डलं व्यस्तमेतत् । शकटमिव महीयः शैशवे

शार्ङ्गपाणेश्चपलचरणकाब्जप्रेरणोत्तुङ्गिताग्रम् ॥ (२) तैसं २,६,६,३; शब्रा. १,२,२,१६ : नेदेन-मुपरिष्टान्नाष्ट्रा रक्षांस्यवपश्यान् । (३) निरु. ७,२०: तदुपरिष्टाद् व्याख्यास्यामः । भाग. ५,४,१२: तेषां सुचरितम्......उपरिष्टाद् वर्णयिष्यामः । (४) छा. उप. ५,२,२ : याज्ञ. १,१०६ । (५) तवोपरिष्टादस्मदायत्तेव रक्षा दश (बोरो.) । °उदर्क-(बहु.), °उपयाम-(बहु.), °ज्योतिस्, °बृहती च छन्दोनामनी, °लक्षण-(बहु.), °वात-(सह.) मैसं. । >औपरिष्ट-वि. काशि. ४,२,१०४ ।

उपांशु [उप+अंशु (अव्य.?)] (१) रहसि, विजने, (२) अश्रुतोच्चारणे । [बोरो. (१) निःशब्दम् >(२) निर्जनम् ।] (१) ऋवे. १०,८३,७: अभि प्रेहि दक्षिणतो भवा मेऽधा वृत्राणि जङ्घनाव भूरि । जुहोमि ते धरुणं मध्वो अग्रमुभा उपांशु प्रथमा पिबाव ॥ (सोमसवनसमीपे इति आस.) । माघ. १३,५४: निलयेषु नक्तमसिताश्मनां चयैर्विसिनीवधूपरिभवस्फुटागसः । मुहुरुत्रसद्भिरपि यत्र गौरवाच्छशलाञ्छनांशव उपांशु जघ्निरे ॥ रघु. ८,१८: नृपतिः प्रकृतीरवेक्षितुं व्यवहारासन-मादडे युवा । परिचेतुमुपांशु धारणां कुशपूतं प्रवयास्तु विष्टरम् ॥ (२) ऐब्रा. १,२७ : तस्मादुपांशु वाचा चरितव्यम् । २,७: तिर इव वा एतद् वचो यदुपांशु । शब्रा. १,३,५,१०: उपांशु देवतां यजति । भाग. १०,३,४९ : ताः कृष्णवाहे वसुदेव आगते स्वयं व्यवर्यन्त यथा तमो रवेः । ववर्ष पर्जन्य उपांशुगर्जितः शेषोऽन्वगाद् वारि निवारयन् फणैः ॥ किरा. १२,८: जपतः सदा जपमुपांशु वदनमभितो विसारिभिः । तस्य दशनकिरणैः शुशुभे परिवेषभीषणमिवार्कमण्डलम् ॥ वाचो लिङ्गत्वेनापि मनु. २,८५: विधियज्ञाज्जपयज्ञो विशिष्टो दशभिर्गुणैः । उपांशुः स्याच्छतगुणः साहस्रो मानसः स्मृतः ॥ सोमयागीयग्रहविशेषे पुंलिङ्गः वासं. तैसं. इत्यादि । °क्रीडितं-पुं. 'नर्मसचिवः', °ग्रह-'प्रथमो ग्रहः' तैसं., °दण्ड-(सह.), °याज-, °वध-(सह.)—मोवि. । >°ता-,°त्व- ।

उवे. संबोधने साय., मोवि., मेक. । ऋवे.१०,८६,७ : उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके यथेवाङ्ग भवि-ष्यति । भसन्मे अम्ब सक्थि मे शिरो मे वीव हृष्यति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥ आसमानह्वि-ल्नेयाभ्यां त्विदं नातिपरिज्ञातस्य आह्वानज्ञापनाद्यर्थस्य √उ धातोः लङुत्तमैकवचने रूपमिति निश्चितम् ।

ऋतुथा [ऋतु+था] (१) यथर्तु>(२) यथाकालम्, (३) यथाविधि, (४) यथायथम् (१) ऋवे. १,१६४,४४: त्रयः केशिन ऋतुथा वि चक्षते संवत्सरे वपत एक एषाम् । विश्वमेको अभि चष्टे शचीभिर्ध्राजिरेकस्य ददृशे न रूपम् ॥ (२) ५,३२,१२: एवा हि त्वामृतुथा यातयन्तं मघा विप्रेभ्यो ददतं शृणोमि । १,१७०,५: इन्द्र त्वं मरुद्भिः संवदस्वाध प्राशान ऋतुथा हवींषि ॥ (३) ८,१२,१९: स्तोता यत्ते अनुव्रत उक्थान्यृतुथा दधे । शुचिः पावक उच्यते सो अद्भुतः ॥ (४) ६,९,२: स इत्तन्तुं स वि जानात्योतुं स वक्त्वान्यृतुथा वदाति । य ईं चिकेतदमृतस्य गोपा अवश्चरन्परो अन्येन पश्यन् ॥ वेदेष्वेव ।

ऋधक्, [ऋधक् इत्यपि सकृत् (ऋवे. ९,६४,३०) आस. मते ऋध् (<*√ऋध् विभजने)+√अञ्च् +क्विन् क्रिवि.]=(१) पृथक् निरु. ४,२५>(१,१) क्रमेण, (१,२) विशेषेण । (१) ऋवे. ७,५७,४: ऋधक्सा वो मरुतो दिद्युदस्तु । ८,१८,११: युयोता शरुमस्मदाँ आदित्यास उतामतिम् । ऋधग् द्वेषः कृणुत विश्ववेदसः ॥ (१,१) ऋवे. ३,२५,१; अग्ने दिवः सूनुरसि प्रचेतास्तना पृथिव्या उत विश्ववेदाः । ऋधग्देवाँ इह यजा चिकित्वः ॥ (१,२) ऋवे. ८,१०१,१: ऋधगित्था स मर्त्यः शशमे देवतातये । यो नूनं मित्रावरुणावभिष्टय आचक्रे हव्यदातये ॥ यास्केन यद् 'अथाप्यृध्नोत्यर्थे दृश्यते' इत्युक्त्वा वा.सं. ८,२०, : ऋधगया ऋधगुताशमिष्ठाः प्रजानन्

यज्ञमुपयाहि विद्वान् ॥ इत्युदाहृतम् यच्चोवटमहीधराभ्यां तत्रैव सायणेन च ऋवे. ६,४९,१० इत्यत्र 'ऋध्नुवन्', 'समृद्धम्' इति वार्थः स्वीकृतः तदनावश्यकमेव प्रतिभाति । अत्रैव (१,२) इत्यस्योदाहरणं तुलनीयम् । °मन्त्र–अवे. ५,१,१ : बहुव्रीहिः प्रतिभाति । (ऋधक् पृथग् अन्य-विलक्षणो मन्त्रो यस्य सः) । बोरो-मते तु 'वाक्शक्तिरहितः' ।

एकपदे [एक+पद+स.१ । पदमित्यस्य पदक्षेपोपलक्षिते क्षणे प्रवृत्तिः अनुपदम्, प्रतिपदम्, पदेपदे इत्यादिषु दृष्टा । तुलय सपदि] एकस्मिन् पदन्यासे माश्चि. (माघ. २,९५) : अकस्मात् गम. ८ । माघ. २, ९५ : तदीशितारं चेदीनां भवांस्तमवमंस्त मा । निहन्त्यरीनेकपदे य उदात्तः स्वरानिव ॥ रघु. ८,४८ : कृतवत्यसि नावधीरणामपराद्धेऽपि यदा चिरं मयि । कथमेकपदे निरागसं जनमाभाष्यमिमं न मन्यसे ॥ विक्र. ४, १० : अयमेकपदे तया वियोगः प्रियया चोपनतः सुदुःसहो मे । नववारिधरोदयादहोभिर्भवितव्यं च निरातपत्वरम्यैः ॥ विश्वमेदिन्यौ अनव्ययं नपुंसकमेकपद-शब्दमेवाङ्गीकुरुतः ।

एना [इदम्>अ+तृ. १] (१) अनेन प्रकारेण, एवम्, (२) अत्र, तत्र, (३) तदा, (४) अनेन= अतः, परःशब्दयोगे । (१) ऋवे. ९, ६१,११ : एना विश्वान्यर्य आ द्युम्नानि मानुषाणाम् । सिषासन्तो वनामहे ॥ अवे. ४,८,७ । (२) ऋवे. १,१६४,५ : पाकः पृच्छामि मनसाविजानन्देवानामेना निहिता पदानि । वत्से बष्कयेऽधि सप्त तन्तून् वि तत्निरे कवय ओतवा उ ॥ अवे. १२,३,३३ । ऋवे. १०,१४,२ : यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो विवेद नैषा गव्यूतिरपभर्तवा उ । यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुरेना जज्ञानाः पथ्या अनु स्वाः ॥ (३) ऋवे. १,३०,३ : सं यन्मदाय शुष्मिण एना ह्यस्योदरे । समुद्रो न व्यचो दधे ॥ (४) ऋवे. १०,८२,५ : परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्या परो देवेभिरसुरैर्यदस्ति । कं स्विद् गर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपो यत्र देवाः समपश्यन्त विश्वे ॥ अवे. ५,११,५ : त्वं ह्यङ्ग वरुण स्वधावन् विश्वा वेत्थ जनिमा सुप्रणीते । किं रजस एना परो अन्यदस्त्येना किं परेणावरममुर ॥ अनव्ययमप्येवैष न विरलप्रयोगः ।

Kīrti: Its Connotation

By

B. CH. CHHABRA, *Ootacamund* (S. I.).

How epigraphy sometimes benefits lexicography is illustrated by a peculiar use of the term *kīrti* as found in certain inscriptions. The word, in its primary sense of 'fame' or 'glory' is of a very common occurrence, not only in Sanskrit, but also in all those languages that are derived from or influenced by Sanskrit. As we shall presently see, some of the classical Sanskrit dictionaries ascribe a few secondary meanings to the word *kīrti*, that sound as strange as they are rare in ordinary use. It is mainly in reference to one of those secondary meanings of the term, that we shall discuss it here.

The word is derived from √*kṝt*, which means 'to praise, to speak well of, to make mention of, to take into account'[1], and the like. Its verbal forms are frequently met with, such as *kīrtayati*, *kīrtanīya*, *kīrtita*, etc. The addition of a prefix like *pra*, *sam*, *anu* or *pari* would modify the basic sense to some extent, while that of the prefix *apa* would yield the opposite sense. Thus *apakīrti* means 'disgrace' or 'bad name'. The same meaning is obtained also from *akīrti*, which literally means 'negation of fame'.

In **अस्य भार्यासु तिसृषु ह्रीश्रीकीर्त्युपमासु च**[2] or **कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक् च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा**[3] *kīrti* evidently refers to Fame personified or to a goddess of that name[4]. We are, however, not concerned with this aspect of *kīrti* here.

We proceed with the evidence of lexicons. The *Amara*, by far the most popular of them, has nothing to say on the point. Its commentator Bhānuji-Dīkṣita, however, commenting on *kīrti*, cites **कीर्तिः प्रसादयशसोर्विस्तारे कर्दमेऽपि च**, without quoting the source[5]. The *S'abdaratnasamanvaya* of King Sāhajī of Tanjore (A. D. 1700), has the same in a slightly different form : **कीर्तिः प्रसादे यशसि विस्तारे कर्दमेऽपि च**[6]. The *Medinī* gives : **कीर्तिः प्रसादयशसोः** and the *Vaijayantī* : **कीर्तिः पङ्के यशस्यपि**[7]. Hemacandra, in his *Anekārthasaṅgraha*, strikes a different note in having *prāsāda* for *prasāda* : **कीर्तिर्यशसि विस्तारे प्रासादे कर्दमेऽपि च**[8]. And it is this

1. Compare : नाकीर्तयद्रवशानात्तद्वचो मानुषांस्तदा ।
   तस्मात्स मानुषाद्वध्यो मृत्युर्नान्योऽस्य विद्यते (*Ramayaṇa* I, 15, 14.)
2. *Ramayaṇa*, I, 15, 20.
3. *Bhagavadgīta*, X, 34.
4. Iconographically *Kīrti* is Kes'ava-Viṣṇu's S'akti. Her images were made according to the description in the *āgamas*. Cf. T. A. Gopinatha Rao : ***Elements of Hindu Iconography***, Vol. I, pp. 233 and 236.
5. *Amarakoṣa*, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press 5th ed., 1929, p. 67.
6. Geakwad's Oriental Series, No. LIX, p. 125.
7. Gustav Oppert's ed., London, 1893, p. 220.
8. Jagannath Sāstrī Hoshing's ed., Benares, 1929, p. 15.

difference that is of vital importance to us. The modern lexicographers, who have, no doubt, drawn upon the earlier *koṣas* like the ones referred to above, possibly did not have the means of determining the exact form of the word in question. They took the easier path and accepted both *prasāda* and *prāsāda*, thinking perhaps that, either of these being as odd as *vistāra* and *kardama* to be a meaning of *kīrti*, both might be given an equal chance[1], until some decisive evidence came forth. It is here that epigraphy comes in. It supplies the requisite evidence. And that evidence is in favour of *prāsāda*.

Now, it is well known that *prāsāda* has two meanings: 'palace' and 'temple'. It is in this latter sense that *kīrti* is often used in inscriptions. In fact, it is used in a wider sense of 'a memorial' or 'a monument', which, in fact, in the instances so far noticed mostly takes the form of a temple. Further, in this very sense the cognate term *kīrtana* is also employed.

It may be observed here that some classical writers have used the *kīrtana* in the sense of a temple or a monument, though seldom understood as such[2]. In other words, some of the classical Sanskrit dictionaries do recognise *kīrti*, but not *kīrtana*[3], in the given sense, whereas the Sanskrit literature has it the other way round. That is, of course, so far as my investigation goes. In epigraphy, on the other hand, *kīrtana* is as frequently used as *kirti*.

Before citing epigraphical instances of their use, we had better notice literary references to *kīrtana*. The most conspicuous use of the term is perhaps in कीर्तनानि च कारयेत् in the *Agnipurāṇa* (XXXVIII, 26) where the very theme of the chapter is देवालयनिर्माणफलादि. Then, Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*, describing Candrāpīḍa's *digvijaya*, says : स्थापयन्स्वचिह्नानि कुर्वन्कीर्तनानि लेखयन्शासनानि[4]. The commentator has obviously missed the true meaning of कुर्वन् कीर्तनानि, for he renders it by हरिगुणगानानि कुर्वन्. The meaning is further made clear by Bāṇa's son Bhūṣaṇa in the *Kādambarī* itself, where Candrāpīḍa says with reference to Vaiśampāyana : न सत्रकूपप्रपाप्रासादतटाकारामादिभि: कीर्तनैरलंकृता मेदिनी[5]. Here again the commentator has gone astray by explaining कीर्तनै: as नामभि:. In Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* we have : श्रीमन्ति कीर्तनशतानि निवेशितानि[6]. Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* has : स्वर्गतानां जरत्पूर्तकीर्तनोद्धरणेन तु[7]. Its editor, Abaji Vishnu Kathavate, while noting on the passage, has taken *kīrtana* in the sense of 'fame'[8]. Lastly,

1. Thus in dictionaries like those of Otto Böhtlingk and Monier Monier-Williams, we find both *prasāda* and *prāsāda* among the meanings of *kīrti*.

2. As early as 1883, Professor (later Sir) R. G. Bhandarkar elucidated in detail the meaning of *kīrtana* in such instances, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 228-30. Three years earlier Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji had drawn attention to it, *ibid.* Vol. IX, p. 36, n. 13.

3. Except that the *Vaijayantī* has *mahākīrtana*, meaning 'a house'.

4. Nirṇayasāgara Press, 7th ed., 1932, p. 225.

5. *Ibid*, p. 483.

6. H. Kern's ed., Harvard Oriental Series, XXXI, 66.

7. Bombay, 1883, IV, 23.

8. *Ibid.* p. 14.

Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* has तत्कीर्तनं दिदृक्षुः[1].

Let us now examine the epigraphical data about the use of both *kīrti* and *kīrtana*. The earliest instance is afforded by a one-line inscription on the pedestal of a Nāga statue of the Gupta period, which possibly hailed from Mathurā and is now kept in the Lucknow Museum. It reads ॐ विष्णुस्य गोमिन्द्रपुत्त्रस्य हस्तदत्तपौत्त्रस्य कित्त्रः (कीर्तिः)[2]. Here the statue itself is referred to as *kīrti*. The next is a copper charter of the time of the Traikūṭakas from Kanheri, near Bombay. It is dated in the year 245 (A.D. 493). It records the erection of a Buddhist *caitya* of 'dressed stone and brick' (*ghaṭita-pāṣāṇeṣṭakābhiḥ*). The inscription ends with a verse, wishing a long existence to the *caitya*, which is spoken of there as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्तिः स्थिरेयं भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुतं पुष्यनाम्नः[3]. The Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yas'ovarman records certain charities and also the construction by king Bālāditya of a Buddha temple, described as प्रासादः सुमहानयम्भगवतः शौद्धोद्नेरद्भुतः कैलासाभिभवेच्छयेव धवलो मन्ये समुत्थापितः. The same is referred to as *kīrti* towards the end of the record : तावच्चन्द्रावदाता धवलयतु दिशाम्मण्डलं कीर्त्तिरेषा[4]. The Aphsaḍ stone inscription records the building of a Viṣṇu temple by Ādityasena, a Gupta king of Magadha, as also of a *maṭha* by his mother, S'rīmatī, and of a tank by his wife, Koṇadevī. The last verse mentions the temple again as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्त्तिमिहातनोति धवलामादित्यसेनो नृपः[5]. Two more inscriptions of the same king Ādityasena are known to exist on the famous hill of Mandāragiri (Bengal). Their texts are indentical. They record the construction of a tank by the queen, Koṇadevī, just referred to. The expression used is : महादेवी श्रीकोणदेवी पुष्करिणीकीर्त्तिमिमाङ्कारितवती[6]. The clear manner in which the *kīrti* is defined here is worthy of note, as it does not refer to a temple, but to a *puṣkariṇī*. The same mode is adopted in the Lākhāmaṇḍala *pras'asti*, which records the construction of a S'iva temple (*Bhavāspada*) latter referred to as *kīrti-sthāna* : तावदिदमस्तु कीर्त्तिस्थानं श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य.[7] Recently a stone inscription has been discovered in the Jaipur state, which is dated in *Saṃvat* 741 (A. D. 684). It records the construction of a step-well (*vāpi*), which is alluded to as *kīrti* : तावत्कीर्त्तिरियं शशाङ्करुचिरा राज्ञो जनैर्गीयताम्[8]. Among the temple ruins at

1. Forbes Gujarati Sabha Series, No. 14, Bombay, 1932, p. 105. C. H. T. who in his translation (1901) of the work has correctly rendered the term *kīrtana* here by 'temple' (p. 96 and n. 4), as by that time this sense of the word had been well established. Compare also J. F. Fleet's note in *IA*, Vol. XII. p. 289. Even V. S. Apte had adopted it in his *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, his explanation of the term being 'a temple; any work of art; a building'.

2. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1938-9, p. 163, Plates LVa and LVI b.

3. *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India (Arch. Survey of W. India*, No. 10), Bombay, 1881, p. 58.

4. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 44.

5. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*) *Vol. III*, p. 205.

6. *Ibid.* p. 212 and n. 6. In this note, Fleet quotes another inscription which has अचीकरत्कीर्त्तिमिमां स सर्व्वाम्, the specific nature of the work referred to being not clear.

7. *EI*, Vol. I., p. 14.

8. *Bharata-kaumudī*, (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji), Allahabad, 1945, p. 275.

Saton, Fatehpur District, U. P., was found a stone lintel with the following inscription ॐ जयादित्यपुत्त्रदुर्ग्गादित्यस्य कीर्त्तिः[1]. Evidently the *kīrti* here refers to a temple. A fairly long *pras'asti* engraved over the front door of a monolithic temple of Viṣṇu at Gwalior refers to it as *kīrti* : शिरसि शिखरराशेः स्थेयसी श्लाघ्यरूपा स्थगयतु भुवि कीर्त्ती रोदसी तावदेषा[2]. The stone inscription of Bhojadeva (9th century A.D.), now kept in the State Museum at Gwalior, records the erection of an *antaḥpura-pura* ? in honour of Viṣṇu, is again referred to as *kīrti* in verse 26 of the *praśasti* : तावत्पुनातु जगतीमियमस्य कीर्त्तिः[3]. In the Nālandā copper plate of Devapāla *kīrti*, refers to Buddhist monastery *vihāra* built by the S'ailendra king Bālaputra : तावत्सत्कीर्त्तिरेषा प्रभवतु जगतां सत्क्रिया रोपयन्ती[4]. The Ghosrava stone inscription of the time of Devapāla records the erection of a lofty edifice for the Buddha's *vajrāsana*, which is further on twice spoken of as *kīrti* : सोपानमार्गमिव मुक्तिपुरस्य कीर्त्तिमेताम्विधाय कुशलं ?यदुपात्तमस्यात् and तावत्कीर्त्तिर्जयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य शुभ्रा[5]. Lastly, the Ratanpur stone inscription of the Kalachuri year 915 (A.D. 1163-4), referring to the charitable work of one Brahmadeva, has: तावत्कीर्तिरियञ्चकास्तु विशदा विश्वम्भरा मण्डले[6].

The usage of *kīrtana* started somewhat later. The earliest instance is found in a Kannaḍa inscription about A.D. 750. It records the construction of a *cediyā* (i.e. *caitya* or Jaina temple) and of a *kīrtana* in front of that. The nature of the *kīrtana* here is not clear, though the editor of the inscription has taken it in the sense of 'a sculpture'[7]. Two dedicatory Kannaḍa inscriptions in a cavern at Badami, having identical text, speak of a *kṛtana*, which is believed to refer to the carvings on the rock near by : श्री एरण्डरगणचनकीर्तनम्[8]. A clear reference to a wonderful S'iva temple by the term *kīrtana* is found in a Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant of S'aka 734 (A.D. 812) : कर्तापि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी, तन्नाम कीर्तनमकार्यत येन राज्ञा[9]. In fact, the clarification of the meaning of the term began with this instance[10]. Then there are five short inscriptions of Devalabdhi of the Chandella dynasty at Dudahi in the Jhansi District, each of which speaks of a temple, termed as *kīrtana*[11]. A S'ilāhāra copper charter likewise mentions the construction of twelve S'iva temples : शंभोर्यो द्वादशापि व्यरचयदचिरात्कीर्तनानि स्वनाम्ना[12]. Recently a stone inscription (under publication in the *Epigraphica Indica*) has been discovered at a village called Koni near Bilaspur, C.P.,

1 *ARASI*, 1908-9, p. 7.

2. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 157.

3. *ARASI*, 1903-4, p. 283.

4. *EI*, Vol. XVII, p. 324.

5. *IA*, Vol., XVII, p. 310.

6. *EI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 263 and p. 267 n. 3.

7. *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 205, text on p. 205.

8. Appendix to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1927-28 (List of Stone Inscriptions of the Bombay-Karnatak), p. 32, Nos. 219 and 221.

9. *IA*, Vol. XII. p. 159.

10. *op. cit.*, p. 228 and p, 289.

11. *op. cit.*, p. 289 ; A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X, pp.94-5, plate XXXII.

12. *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

which records the erection, in the Kalachuri year 900 (A.D. 1148-9), of a S'iva *pañcāyatana* at that place, This S'iva temple is also mentioned as *kīrtana* : भूचक्रे श्रीमदेतात्त्रिभुवनमंहितं कीर्तनं तावदास्ताम्.

From the foregoing examples it is clear that, though in a majority of cases the word *kīrti* denotes 'a temple', it also means 'a monument' in general, 'any constructional work or sculptural object intended to perpetuate the memory of its author', and that in this sense the word *kīrtana* can also be employed. Besides, these terms, when so used, convey the metaphor so as to make the object appear as the very embodiment of the donor's fame.

Instances are also found where even the verbal form *kīrtita* is employed in the sense of 'built' or to be more precise, 'built into a temple or a monument'. Recording the construction of a temple at Ranipur Jharial in the Pātṇā State of Orissa, an inscription has : तेन कृष्णोपचारेण कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता[1]. Another inscription there, referring to a S'iva temple, has : इदं स्थानं कीर्तितम्[2]. Through the association of the former, the *kīrtitam* here also has been taken in the sense of 'built'. Similarly, the construction of a Viṣṇu-temple in a cave at Udayagiri in Gwalior, is recorded in an inscription dated in *Saṃvat* 1093 (A.D. 1036) in the following words: चन्द्रगुप्तेन कीर्तनं कीर्तितम्[3]. The Saugar stone inscription of the reign of S'aṅkaragaṇa, of about A.D. 750, has : राज्ञी कृष्णदेवी...क्षितितले कीर्तिं प्रख्यापयति[4]. The word प्रख्यापयति here has been taken to signify कारयति.

It may be observed that the word *kīrti* in the sense of 'a temple' or 'a monument' is found used in certain early inscriptions of Java as well. The term has been commented upon by Prof. Dr. H. Kern and Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (in the Dutch journal *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Vol. IV, 1905, p. 662, and Vol. V, 1906, pp. 344-8), though they did not have so much evidence at their disposal as is available now. Prof. Vogel was inclined to think that the word *kṛti* had something to do with the special significance of the term *kīrti*. But that, in my opinion, is not the case.

Against the background of this meaning of *kīrti*, the meaning of the architectural term *kīrtimukha* also becomes intelligible enough. It applies to the arch of an entrance to a temple, having a sculptural representation of a master's head. This is thus indicated by *kīrtimukha* (*kīrti* 'temple', *mukha* 'face *frontage* 'entrance')

(Messers N. L., Rao and M. Venkataramayya have assisted me by finding out some references for me in connection with this paper, for which I am very thankful to them.

1. *EI.* Vol. XXIV, p. 244.
2. *op. cit.*, p. 243.
3. *IA.* Vol. XII, p. 185.
4. Under publication in the *EI.*

Four Laws in Sanskrit Semantics

By

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *Annamalai-nagar.*

Of the seven classes of sound-change mentioned by G. Stern, four will be dealt with here with reference to Sanskrit Language. They are (1) *Substitution*, (2) *Shortening*, (3) *Permutation* and (4) *Adequation.*

Substitution : It is the sense-change which is due to external non-linguistic causes. The factual change of the referent[1], the change in the knowledge of the referent, and the change of attitude towards the referent may produce it. The referent is subjected to a factual change on account of progress, material, intellectual or moral. When the referent changes, we require new name for it ; then we place it in some known category denoting it by the same name. *Examples* :—

(1) *śakaṭa-* in the word *dhūma-śakaṭa.*

(2) *veṇu-* (*a*) bamboo used as a musical instrument.

(3) *daṇḍa-* (*a*) stick, (*b*) the sceptre of king, the rod as a symbol of authority and punishment.

(4) *sabrahmacārin-* *a*) a fellow student—one who studies the same S'ākhā of the Veda[2], (*b*) a companion[3].

(5) *chāndasa-* (*a*) one versed in the Vedas. (*b*) one versed only in the Vedas and ignorant of the world, (*c*) a sluggish fool (coll.)

Shortening : If, for some reason, a word is omitted from a compound expression which still retains its meaning, the remaining word or words have to carry the total meaning, that formerly belonged to the whole expression. If the omission becomes habitual, the result may be a sense-change for the remaining word or words. One set of examples under this consists of the words denoting *vis'eṣaṇa* being used to denote *vis'eṣya* :—

(1) *puruhūta-* (*a*) one invoked by many or on many occasions.[4], (*b*) Indra.

1. It is necessary to note the difference between ***meaning*** and ***referent.*** Meaning is a psychic act through which the word (the sign) is referred to that which it denotes (the referent).

2. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतं चरतीति सब्रह्मचारी (*Mahābhāṣya* under VI, 3, 86).

3. Cf. व्यसनसब्रह्मचारिन् ।

4, Cf. पुरुहूतमिन्द्रम् (RV. IV, 20, 5).

(2) *catur-bhuja-* (*a*) one having four arms, (*b*) Lord Viṣṇu.
(3) *adhara-* (*a*) lower one[1], (*b*) lower lip[2].
(4) *deva-* (*a*) shining one[3], (*b*) God like Agni.
(5) *asura-* (*a*) strong one or life-giver[4], (*b*) enemy of Gods.

Another set is provided by one member of a devatā-dvandva denoting both :—

(1) *mātarā* (*a*) the dual of *mātṛ-*, (*b*) parents[5].
(2) *pitarā* (*a*) the dual of *pitṛ-*, (*b*) parents[6].
(3) *dasrā* (*a*) the dual of *dasra*[7]-, the name of one of the two As'vins, (*b*) As'vins[8].
(4) *nāsatyā* (*a*) the dual of *nāsatya-*, the name of the second As'vin, (*b*) As'vins[9].

Permutation : It is an unintentional sense-change in which the subjective apprehension of a larger total changes and the changed apprehension is substituted for the previous meaning of the word. In permutation we have one referent with several characteristics. Through a change of apprehension, the subject's attention is shifted from one characteristic to another so that the latter becomes predominant and the meaning of the name is thus changed. This is possible only when the two meanings of the word are interchangeable, that is to say, either of the two meanings may be inserted into the phrase-meaning without change in the apprehension of the phrase-referent. There must be a period of preparation during which phrases with the equivocal meaning occur with sufficient frequency to allow a firm association to be established between the word (with its primary meaning) and the notion that comes to form its secondary meaning.

In many languages, the word which originally meant 'woman', now means '*wife*', e. g. A. S. *wife* ; Mod. Eng. *wife* ; Ancient Tamil *peṇtoṭṭi*, Mod. Tamil, *peṇdoṭṭi* ;

Sanskrit : (1) *śuvarṇa-* (*a*) metal gold, (*b*) gold coin.
(2) *śarad-* (*a*) autumn, (*b*) year.[10]

Cf. पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठीम् (*Meghadūta* 2).
2. Cf. पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरम् (S'*akuntala*, I, 24).
3. Cf. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् (RV. I, 1, 1)
4. Cf. हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनीथः (*ibid.* I. 35, 10), रुद्रं नमोभिर्देवमसुरं दुवस्य (*ibid.* V. 42, 11). अनायुधासो असुरा अदेवाः (*ibid.* VIII, 85, 9).
5. Cf. आ मातरा भरति (*ibid.* IV, 22, 4).
6. Cf. पुनर्ये चक्रुः पितरा युवाना (*ibid.* IV, 33,3).
7. Cf. दस्रा युवाकवः सुता नासत्या वृक्तबर्हिषः (*ibid.* 1, 3, 3).
8. Cf. दस्रा हि विश्वमानुषङ् मक्षूभिः परिदीयथः (*ibid.* VIII, 26, 6).
9. Cf. नासत्या कुह चित् सन्तौ (*ibid.* I, 184, 1).
10. पूर्वीभिर्हि ददाशिम शरद्भिः (*ibid.* I. 86, 6).

It is interesting to note that, in English, the word *bead* originally meant 'prayer' and now means 'a ball of rosary', cf. he was counting his beads.

Adequation : It is an unintentional sense-change consisting in a shift of attention from one characteristic of the word-referent to another. Though adequation is similar to permutation in being based on a shift of the subjective apprehension from one characteristic of the referent to another, yet they differ from each other in two ways:—(1) In *adequation* it is the 'word-referent' that is relevant, while in *permutation* it is the 'phrase-referent', (2) In *adequation* the characteristic that rises to a predominant position belongs from the beginning to the range of the word', but in *permutation* it was previously 'outside the range of the relevant word'. *Adequation* is of two types—one not being preceded by another kind of sense—change and another being preceded by it. The former is constituted by a shift of the attention to, and concentration of attention on, either (1) characteristics of the referent that have not previously taken a predominant position, but which now attract attention so that the apprehension of them becomes the central element of meaning, or (2) a particular referent or some particular referents within the referential range of the word. The first is termed '*specialisation* of meaning' and the second '*particularisation* of meaning'. 'Generalisation', '*appreciative specialisation*' (elevation or tendency to be raised in dignity), and '*depreciative specialisation*' (tendency to deteriorate—the pejorative tendency) come under '*specialisation*' :—

(*a*) *Generalisation* :—

(1) *taila-* (*a*) oil extracted from sesame seed, (*b*) oil extracted from any seed[1].

(2) *goṣṭha-* (*a*) stall of bulls or cows, (*b*) stall of animals[2]

(3) *kus'ala-* (*a*) one capable of cutting *kus'a*, (*b*) one capable of doing anything[3].

(4) √*bhakṣ* (*a*) to eat, as a solid[4], (*b*) to eat, drink etc[5].

(5) *madhura-* (*a*) that which is sweet to the sense of taste[6], (*b*) that which is sweet to the five senses.

(*b*) *Appreciative Specialisation* :—

In the expression **रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि कमलानि कमलानि** the second *kamalāni* does not mean only lotuses, but means 'lotuses of superior kind'. Similarly the word *kavayaḥ* in the sentence **वाल्मीकिव्यासकालिदासाः कवयः** means 'poets of superior order'.

1. Cf. *sarṣapa-tailam*—The same is the history of the Tamil word *en-ney*.
2. Cf. *as'va-goṣṭham.*
3. Cf. nrti-kus'alaḥ.
4. Cf. भोज्यं भक्ष्ये (*Paṇini*, vii, 3, 69).
5. Cf. भक्ष्यमभ्यवहार्यम् (*Katyayana's Varttika*).
6. Cf. मधुरमासां दर्शनम् (*S'akuntala*). मधुरः स्वनः ; मधुरो गन्धः—The same is the history of the meaning of the Tamil word *inimai* and the English word *sweet.*

(*c*) *Depreciative Specialisation* :—

(1) *grāmya-* (*a*) one relating to a village[1], (*b*) one living in a village[2]. (*c*) one which is domesticated[3], (*d*) that which is low, vulgar[4]. (*e*) that which is indecent[5].

(2) *khaṭvārūḍha-* (*a*) lit. one on the couch, (*b*) one who becomes a house-holder after studying Vedas[6], (*c*) one who becomes a house-holder without the study of the Vedas, (*d*) one who had illicit connection, (*e*) rogue.

(3) *puṇya-jana-* (*a*) a virtuous man, (*b*) a Rākṣasa.

(*d*) *Particularisation* (Restriction):—

1. *vīra-* (*a*) a man[7], (*b*) a son[8], (*c*) a prince[9], (*d*) a hero[10].

(*e*) *Adequation preceded by another kind of sense-change* :—

(1) *veṇu-* I. (*a*) bamboo, (*b*) bamboo used as a musical instrument (*Substitution*).

II. (*a*) musical instrument made of bamboo, (*Adequation*), (*b*) musical instrument of the same shape etc. not made of bamboo (*Substitution*).

(3) *daṇḍa-* I. (*a*) a stick, (*b*) the sceptre of a king, the rod as a symbol of authority and punishment (*Substitution*).

II. (*a*) punishment with a stick (*Adequation*). (*b*) punishment in general (*Substitution*).

1. Cf. *Manu* (VI, 3; VII, 120.)
2. Cf. ग्राम्यजनोऽल्पव्ययेन मिष्टमश्नाति ।
3. Cf. ग्राम्यकुक्कुट: (*Mahabhaṣya*),
4. Cf. ग्राम्यभाषा (ग्राम्यस्य भाषा) ।
5. Cf. ग्राम्यभाषा (ग्राम्या च सा भाषा च) ।
6. अधीत्य स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातेन खट्वा आरोढव्या । य इदानीम् अतोऽन्यथा करोति स उच्यते, खट्वारूढोऽयं जाल्मः—नातिव्रतवान्—(*Mahabhaṣya*).
7. Cf. सु धा वीरो न रिष्यति (RV. I. 18. 4) Cf. Lat. *vir* 'man' ; Anglo-Saxon *wulf* 'men',
8. Cf, यतो वीरः कर्मण्यः...जायते (*ibid.* III 4, 9).
9. एषो हि वीरो बहुभुक् (*Mahabharata*, I, 186, 7),
10. कश्च वीर्यवान् (*Ramayaṇa*) ; cf. Mod. English, *virility*.

The Persian of Jain hymns.

By

BANARSI DAS JAIN, *Ludhiana.*

Some Jaina hymns were composed in Persian. The interest of these hymns does not lie so much in their contents or poetry as in their language, called Pārasī (Persian) in the colophons but differing appreciably from the standard idiom. The language of the one[1] given below contains about a dozen Indian words, mostly pronouns, used perhaps on account of metrical emergency or unconscious working of the poet's mind. Some amount of deviation from the norm was unavoidable owing to the limitations placed by a foreign script and metres. Still the Mss. attempt to represent the Persian pronunciation as accurately as possible, *e. g.* Persian *khē*(x) and *fē* (f) are often denoted by *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* added to क and फ respectively. The Arabic *sē*, pronounced like *th* in English *think*, is represented by थ though in India it is now pronounced as *s*. The initial *wāw* is transcribed by उव to bring out its w-quality. In other places व stands for it.

Sometimes, however, the Mss. make errors where Devanāgarī was capable of representing the Persian sounds correctly, as in the case of Pers. *s* by स and *ś* by श. The Mss. almost always denote *s'* by स. This is perhaps because the copyists were accustomed to transcribe Prakrits and Apabhraṃs'a which seldom contained a श. On the contrary *salāmat* is rendered as शलामथु. Other points worth noting are :

bē : frequently represented by व. The interchange of ब and व in Mss. is very common and is due to ignorance or carelessness of scribes. The medial and final *bē* is often denoted by उ or ओ, e. g. śab=सो 'night' a dialectal variation, [cf. *s'au* night, D. L. R. Lorimer : (*Phonology of Bakhtiari, Badakhshānī and Madgalashti dialects of Modern Persian*, London, 1922, *pp.* 61, 141). The *Pārasībhāṣānus'āsana* supplies more examples. e. g. *ābī*= अउवी 'watery' ; *āftāb*=आफताउ 'the sun', *sabz*= सउज 'green'].

pê : denoted by फ in *pidar*=फिद्‌र 'father'.

jīm: sometimes represented by य as in *kujā*=कुया 'wheae' (*cf.* kuya 'where' ; Lorimer : *ibid.* p. 107).

cē : written as छ in *catr*=छत्रु 'parosal'.

zē : appears as च in *buzurg*=बुचिरुक् 'great' and as स in *darāz*=दरास 'long'.

'ain : not represented separately but the adjacent vowel, if short, is leng-

1. It is ascribed to Jinaprabha Suri, a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51 A. D.). It was discovered and published by Muni Jinavijaya together with an old Skt. commentary on it (Jaina Sahitya Samshodhaka, Poona, Vol. III, 1921).

thened, *sā'at* = सात 'time, hour', *'amm* = आम 'father's brother', *su'ūd*= सऊ 'auspicious'.

kāf : appears ख in *kāfūr* = खाफूर 'camphor'.

wāw : appears as उ or उय as in *wilāyat*= उलातु 'country', *jānwar*= जानूउर 'animal', *wazagh*= उयजक 'lizard'.

A final consonant is seldom shown as being vowelless though the *Pārasībhāṣānuśāsana* often adds the *halanta* mark (्) to such letters. Sometimes the consonant is altogether left out as in *su'ūd*= सऊ. The final *he* with the preceding *zabar* becomes *ā* as in *ghurbah*= गुरुवा 'cat'. A consonant group is denoted by a conjunct consonant when one of the members is *s* or *ś*, e. g. अस्तारा, चिश्म, खश्मि, दोस्ती, बिस्नवि, बुस्मार, हस्ति etc. In ब्रादर it is wrong. Other groups are separated by a *svarabhakti*.

The grammar is simple enough except that the nouns and adjectivs in the nominative and accusative cases end in *u* through the influence of *Deśī*. This influence is seen is conjugation and syntax also. The hymn uses a few words that are not recorded in Steingass : *Persian-English Dictionary*, e. g. आद्रतु 'help', कींबर 'servant', खउसार 'shoemaker', जाम 'watch' (=Skt. याम), सितारक 'a kind of bird'. Of the *Deśī* words जिन and रिसहनाह are clearly untranslable into Persian.

A close study of such hymns is likely to reveal important facts about the pronunciation and grammar of Persian as known at the time when, and in the region where, they were composed. The influence of spoken dialects is evident.

श्रीऋषभदेव स्तवन[1]

अल्लाल्लाहि तुरा हं कीम्बरु सहियानु तुं मरा ख्वांद ।
दुनीय कस मेदानइ बुस्मारइ बुध चिरा नहं ॥१॥

O God! I am Thy servant. O Lord of the Universe! Thou art my Master. Thou knowest the people of the word. How is it, O God, that Thou dost not remember me?

ये ? य) के दो सि जिहारि पंच्य शस स्ल(? हफ)य(?थ) हस्त नोय दह ।
दानिसिमंद हकीकत आकिलु ते यसु तुरा दोस्ती ॥ २ ॥

Wise, just and learned are they who have Thy friendship. Be they one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine or ten. (हफथ stands evidently for हफ्त with in-fixed *svarabhakti*).

आनिमानि खतमथु खुदा बिस्नवि किंच बिवीनि ।
माहु रोजु सो जामु मरा येकु य दिलु बिनिसीनि ॥३॥

Listen to my prayer, O God! and look at it a little. Take a seat in my heart for a month, a day a night or even for a watch.

तुं मादर तुं फिदर बुध तुं ब्रादर तुं आमु ।
नेसि विहेलिय तइं अवरि बीजे मोरइ कामु ॥

Thou art mother. Thou art Father, O God! Thou art Brother. Thou art Father's brother. Leaving thee I have no concern with anything else.

1. The words in thin type are not Persian.

महमद मालिम मंतरा ईब्राहिम रहमाण ।
इं हं तुरा कुताबीआ मेदिहि सुक्य फरमाणु ॥५॥

O Muhammad, Ibrahim, Rahman, You are my teacher. Here am I your pupil. Give me orders.

फरमूद तुरा जु मेकुनइ मेचीनइ न सु थंग ।
खोसु शलामथ आदत नु अर्ज्जदि छोडिय-यंग ॥६॥

He who performs Thy command, never gets misery. Avoiding strife he finds new happiness, peace and help.

सादि न खस्मि न वा अगर तं कुय तुरा सलामु ।
बंदि खलात सु मे दिहइ वासइ न हर हरामु ॥७॥

If Thou art neither pleased nor angry, then, why obeissance to Thee ? Therefore, bestow on me a blessing so that every (obeissance) may not prove useless.

जानूउरु यो मे कुसइ मिदिहदि सो न विहस्ति ।
बुचिरुकू बिल्ल इ दोजखी थंग बहुत तसु हस्ति ॥८॥

He who slaughters animals never reaches Heaven. Surely, enough of intense hellish misery falls on him.

अस्तारां तेरीखु बदानु साले साते दीग सरानु ।
चिस्म दीद यं बुध रू तुरा बूदी कार सऊ बस मरा ॥९॥

Since I saw Thy face with my own eyes, O God, unlucky star, date, year, moment and past time became lucky and all my undertakings have turned auspicious.

माही उस्तुरु गाउ गाउनर खू[ग] पलंगो ।
आहू गुरवा मुरगु सेरु गामेसि कलागो ॥
मगस सितारक मारु बाजु गाबसु ताउसग ।
ऊयजकु मलखु कतानु खइख सगु बत बुज मूसग ॥
दुज खउसार नकासु जनि दरजी उ जरी हजामु ।
ते वासइं जिन मेकुनइं सिरिजिन तुरा सलामु ॥१०॥

O Jina ! those who do not pay homage to Thee.become fish, camel, cow, bull, pig, leopard, deer, cat, cock, lion, buffalo, crow, fly, *kāberī*-bird, serpent, eagle, *g-̈bas* ?, peacock, lizard, locust, flea, tike, dog, duck, goat, rat, thief, shoe-maker, painter, woman, tailor, goldsmith or barber.

शहरु दिह उलातु छत्रु खाफूर ऊदु
मिसिकि जरु नवातु ख्वांद रोजी दरास ।
कसव पिसि तुरा इं नो सरा मे खुहाइ
रिसहनाह थमु दोस्ती वंदिने मे दिही ति ॥११॥

O Master ! this (person) does not desire from Thee pleasant things like a city, a village, a country, parosal, camphor, aloe-wood, musk, gold, sugar-candy, vast fortunes or sugar-cane. O Ṛṣabhanātha ! bestow on me some kindness and friendship.

KERALA PĀṆINI ON INFINITIVES.

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, *Ernakulam.*

The illustratious author of K(eraḷa) P(āṇinīyam) initiated and worked out new methods of grammatical inquiry. Keraḷa is deeply indebted to him for blazing new trails; but there are many points in his work, requiring to be modified or overhauled in the light of later researches and methodology. One such point concerns his classification of Infinitives[1] (or *naḍuvinayeccam* as termed by him after Gundert).

KP, following Gundert, employs the term *naḍuvinayeccam*[2] for the Malayalam types *ceyya* and *ceyga* (or *ceyyuga*[3],) and clubs these two in one category without regard to structural and functional differences. The verbal noun type of *ceyga* (*ceygai*), it is true, cannot certainly be put on the same footing with *siddhanāma* derivatives like *ceydi*, since *ceyga* is something between a noun and a verb; but on this account it cannot be classed together with a category fundamentally differing from it. The apologetic suggestion of KP. that since the *ceyga*-type is something between a noun and a verb, and neither a finite verb nor an adverbial, standing like *parabrahman* without reference to time, tense or person, it has to be thrust in somewhere and so put together with the *ceyya*-type is an unjustified gesture of despair. Again, some sort of prehistorical structural relationship among different forms seems to have contributed to the feeling that the *ceyya*-type and that of *ceyga* belong to the same category. The relevant forms may be tabulated thus:—

1. The word 'Infinitive' used for this category for the first time by Baschi on account of certain syntactic resemblances shown by the use of the Tamil type of *ceyya* to the use of the Latin infinitive, and accepted by later European Dravidists like Gundert Caldwell, Pope, Brown and Kittel, has come to stay, although not quite adequate to convey all the usages of this category. This is the 'Infinitive' *par excellence* in as much as among non-finites it expresses neither time nor person nor number. Lazaru, 'indefinite participles' and Vinson's 'gerondif present' are not so happy.

2. *Viṉayeccam* 'verb-defect' verb-remainder or 'incomplete verb' is a term used by indigenous Tamil grammar, but the classification into *mun-viṉayeccam* (*ceyd*-type? called 'adverbial past participle' by Gundert himself and by Caldwell and Pope, 'gerund' by the earlier Baschi), *naḍu-viṉayeccam* (*ceyya*-type, called 'infinitive') and *piṉ-viṉayeccam* (*ceyvan*-type, the 'future adverbial participle of Gundert) was first made by Gundert. This scholar also put together the two types of *ceyya* and *ceyga* in the category of *naḍu-viṉayeccam*, but he included the latter type among verbal nouns also (cf. Grammar of Mal., p. 229). Baschi (cf. Tamil Grammar) and Caldwell too felt inclined (cf. Comparative Grammar) to put together *ceyya* and *ceygai* in the category of infinitives.

3. *-u-ga* in *ceyyuga*, *naḍakkuga* (beside older *naḍakka*) are analogically introduced from normal forms like, *aḍakkuga*.

Base.	Infinitive	Verbal noun	Optative	Late Tamil polite Imperative
cey	*ceyya*	T. *ceygai*. M. *ceyga*	*ceyga*	T. *ceyya* and *ceyya-v-um-*
naḍakk- (with-*kk*- as extention-suffix)	*naḍakka*	T. *naḍakkai* M. *naḍakka*	*naḍakka*	*naḍakka-v-um*
aḍakk- (-*kk*-as part of base)	*aḍakka*	T. *aḍakkugai* M. *aḍakkuga*	*aḍakkuga*	-*aḍakka-v-um*
ā	*ā*	T. *āgai* M. *āga*	*āga*	
ā-g- (with -g- as extention-suffix)	*āga*	T. *ug* M. *āgā*	*āguga*	*āga* and. *āga-v-um*.

While it is possible to conceive of a past when forms like the infinitive *naḍakka*, the optative *naḍakka* and the verbal noun *naḍakkai* may have been branches of a possible nominal derivative, (the suffix -*g*- being employed of *cey* in the optative and the verbal noun only), the forms are well differentiated to-day, and should on no account be mixed up. In this connection, KP. echoes a suggestion of Gundert's when he says that "the *ceyga* (*ceygai*)-type is a comparatively recent development of the *ceyya*-type" (p. 299), a suggestion directly contradicted by the occurrence of both types in the earliest extant Dravidic texts.

The functional differences are so clear and conspicuous from the Old Tamil period: (*i*) the *ceyya*-type denotes the 'effect' of the action of the main verb, action simultaneous with or prior to, the action of the main verb indicating some hypotactic connection, purpose, and a 'nominal' force in

collocations like *ceyyakkaṇḍen*, none of these functions being performed by the *ceyga*-type ; (*ii*) the *ceyga*-type, even while it governs *kārakas*, can be declined like a noun, whereas the type of *ceyya* is never inflected. All indigenous grammars of Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa mark off the functions of this type. Telugu grammars call it the *tumanyādarthamu* and Kannaḍa grammar terms the type *kriyārtha* or *kriyāprayojana*.

Yet another factor which may have contributed to the mixing-up of these two categories in Malayalam is that in late Old Malayaḷam the *ceyga*-type has made inroads into the province of the *ceyya*-type in a few contexts: *ceyga vēṇam*, *ceyga aruḍu* and *ceyga ām* beside *ceyya vēṇam*, *ceyyaruḍu* and *ceyyām* respectively ; *ceygayum vēṇam*, *ceygayum aruḍu* and *ceygayum ām* for early Old Mal. and Middle Tamil *ceyyavam vēṇam*, *ceyyavum aruḍu* and *ceyyavum ām*, *kāṇga kāṇga ttaḷarnnu* beside *kāṇa-k-kāṇattaḷnnu*. These innovations crop up in late Old Mal. only.

Naḍuvinayeccam (which term is, by the way, justified on original grounds by KP.) is further split up by this work into *taṉ-viṉayeccam* and *pākṣika-viṉayeccam*, the latter being constituted of *ceyyil* (and *ceygil*), and the former of *ceyye* and *ceyyavē*. The suggestion of KP. that *ceyyil*, *ceyye* and *ceyyavē* are forms of *ceyya* can hardly gain acceptance. It is difficult to see how *ceyya* (with final *a*) could yield *ceyyil*, *ceyya-v-ē* is constituted of *ceyya* and the emphatic *ē* with the glide between, *ceyye* is a colloquial variant of *ceyya*, the final *a* here changing to ə and then developing a frontal tonality under the influence of emphatic forms like *ceyyē* (=*ceyyə̄* and *ē*.)

The classification (by Gundert and KP.) of *vinayeccam* into three types, and the justification by KP. of the term *naḍuvinayeccam* on original grounds do justice to these verbids. The clubbing together of the *ceyya* and the *ceyga* types in one and the same type-group is not quite happy. Undefined and (in the present state of affairs, indefinable) prehistoric possibilities of structural relationships cannot obscure the distinctiveness of functional difference, necessitating the strict differentiation of the *ceyya*-type from that of *ceyga*. Although no questions of fact are involved here, method is all-important modern linguistics.

LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO TRADITIONAL GRAMMARS OF KANNADA.

By

G. S. GAI, *Ootacamund*

Though the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language dates from the 6th century A. D., the grammatical literature of this important language of the Dravidian family, however, begins from about the 11th century A. D. There are four traditional grammars of this language[1] of which *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* by Kēśirāja is regarded as the best and fullest systematic exposition of the language of the period. The object of this brief paper is to show how we have to utilise the materials presented by these grammars from our modern linguistic point of view and for this purpose a few *sūtras* from the work *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* have been taken into consideration[2].

Kēśirāja devotes the *sūtras* 18-29 to the treatment of the *phonemes* ṟ, ḻ and ḷ (which we may call alveolar ṟ, voiced lingual continuant ḻ and lingual stop ḷ, respectively). The two phonemes ṟ and ḻ are peculiar to Dravidian. They are now absolete in the Kannaḍa language and are represented by *r* and ḷ. But they exist in Tamil language to the present day. The phoneme ḻ is also met with today in Baḍaga and Tōḍa languages, two uncultivated dialects of the Dravidian family spoken in the Nilgiri hills[3].

Kēśava says that the phonemes ṟ, ḻ and ḷ are produced by pronouncing pressingly or heavily (*ati-pīḍanādin*) the phonemes dental *r*, lingual *ḍ* and dental *l*, respectively. He makes it clear in the gloss that *r* and ṟ are *ekasthānin* i. e., their place of articulation is the same. Similarly of *ḍ* and ḻ, which points out the lingual character of the phoneme ḻ. Kēśirāja gives three lists of words (i) containing the voiced lingual continuant ḻ, (ii) where the lingual stop ḷ is preferred the voiced lingual continuant ḻ or where ḻ is doubtful and (iii) where the lingual stop ḷ alone is required. These lists clearly show the position of the voiced lingual continuant ḻ at the time of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*. From the second list, it can be seen that the change of ḻ to ḷ was taking place at the period in the words given or might have just taken place as the author, on account of his love for the older forms, might have remarked that the existence of ḻ was doubtful in those words.

1. (*a*) *Śabdasmriti*, a part of the work called *Kāvyāvalokane* by Nāgavarma belongin to about 1045 A. D. (*b*) *Karnāṭaka-Bhāṣā-Bhūṣaṇa* by the same author and belongs to the same period. (*c*) *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa* by Kēśirāja (or *Kēśava*) which belongs to A. D. 1260 and (*d*) *Karnāṭaka-Śabdānuśāsana* by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka which was written in 1604 A. D.
2. The *Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā* has been used in this connection.
3. L. V. Ramaswmi Aiyar, *Tamil ḻ*, *JOR*. IX, 104-7.

Sūtra 36 deals with the nature of *bindu* or nasal in Kannaḍa words. The author gives two lists of words (*i*) where the nasal is obligatory and (*ii*) where it is optional. Subsequent history of the Kannaḍa language shows that almost all the words where the nasal is obligatory according to Kēs'irāja are found without the nasal, e. g. *aḍaṅgu*—' to hide ', *tuṟumbu*—' a knot of braided hair ', *tōṇṭa*—' a garden ', *ḍāṇṭu*—' to cross ' and *beḍaṅgu*— ' beauty ' —words given by Kēs'ava as having *nitya* or obligatory *bindu* appear in later and modern Kannaḍa as *aḍagu*, *turubu*, *tōṭa*, *dāṭu* and *beḍagu*—all these have lost their nasals. Disappearance of the pre-consonantal nasal is one of the common phenomenon in Kannaḍa[1]. The second list of Kēs'irāja contains about 18 words where the use of the nasal is said to be optional. This shows that the phenomenon of the disappearance of the preconsonantal nasal had begun to operate in the case of these words but was still in a transitory stage. But the words in the first list, where the nasal is *nitya* or obligatory, were free from this phonetic operation at the time of *S'abdamaṇidarapaṇa* and were affected only later on.

In an instance like *kaḍu-velpu* ' extremely bright ', Kēs'irāja says that *b* of *belpu* is changed to *-v*-after the vowel-*u* of *kaḍu*. But the early history of this speech-form in Kannaḍa (as well as a comparison with the other languages of the Dravidian family like Tamil and Telugu) shows that it was originally *velpu* and that *v*-> *b* later.

While discussing the nominal bases, Kēs'irāja says (*sūtra* 105) that masc. sg. bases ending in-*a* take the augment *n* before the vowels of the terminations and the examples given are *ava-n-am* ' him ' (acc.), *ava-n-am* ' his ' (gen.) and *av-oḷ* ' in him ' (loc). This need not be so. Scholars have shown that the pronominal base is *av*- and the masc. sg. gender suffix is *an* so that *ava-an* ' he ' is the form to which the acc., gen., and loc. case terminations *am*, *a* and *-oḷ*, respectively, are added and we get *avan-am*, *avan-a* and *avan-oḷ*. Similarly by adding the fem. sg. gender suffix *-aḷ* to the pronominal base *av*- we get *avaḷ* ' she '.

According to the author of *S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa* (*Sūtra* 150) the pronouns *avam*- 'he, that man' (remote demonstrative) and *ivam*- 'this man' (proximate demonstrative) are derived from the neuter pronouns *adu*-' that thing ' and *idu*-' this thing ' respectively by substituting *va* for the final *-du*. This is not tenable. For, as said above, the pronominal base of *avam* is *av*- and *am* is the gender suffix of the masc, sg.; likewise *iv* is the pronominal base of *ivam*.

In *sūtra* 117, it is said that the genitive case-termination *a* is lengthened and the illustrations given are *Tailapen-ā* ' of Tailapa ' from Tailapan and *Rāmana* ' of Rama ' from Raman. But the history of Kannaḍa language shows that originally the genitive case-termination was -*ā* and *a* is later so that it is a case of the shortening of long vowel and not *vice versa*. Similarly in instances like *Kallān ēridān* ' he ascended the rock ', it is not the *a* of *Kallan* which is lengthened as Kēs'irāja says

1. Cf. also Sanskrit *vihanga-vihāga*; *bhujanga-bhujaga*; *turanga-turaga*, etc.

(*Sūtra* 118) but *-an* is the earlier termination of the accusative case. A study of the language of the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the 6th to 10th cent. A. D. supports the view that *-ā* and *-ān* are ancient while *a* and *an* are later developments.

From what is said above it can be seen that our Kannaḍa grammarians have tried to give some kind of explanation to the existing speech-forms without going to the history of them, which, was of course, not their object. But we are greatly indebted to them and specially to the author of *S'abdamaṇidarpaṇa* for preserving the speech-forms of these periods. These grammatical works should be properly evaluated. The materials presented by these grammars should be interpreted in terms of modern linguistics and should be compared with the evidence furnished by inscriptions and literature of the contemporary and neighbouring periods. When this is done, it will greatly help us to understand the chronology of the vocables and to build up the Diachronic side of Linguistics so far as Kannaḍa is concerned.

Some Indo-Arabic Philological Equations

By

LAKSHMI DHAR SHASTRI, *Delhi.*

1. *Abraham*, older form, *Ab-Ram*,-Tamil **appa-Ram*, the Tamil **Ram*=**Ar-am*. Here *am* is the suffix and Ar is the stem. Divested of the suffix, the name would read *appa-Ar* or *ab-Ar* (Father *AR*).

2. *Arabia*, The name *ab-Ar* by metathesis, gives us the name *Arab*, people whose father is *Ar*, the descendents of *ab-Ar*. The name *Arab* was also given to the country occupied by the people of the same name. The one pre-Arabic national name for the land of Bedouins, which united the north with the south is unknown. This work was accomplished by the clan of Abraham originally migrating from South-India. The Arabs were not autochthonous to the country known after their name as Arabia. *Ar* is the ancient name of the Dravidian tribe to which Abraham belonged, which was once ruling India from north to south. *Ars* in South-India were known as *Ar-magans*, who, as they spread themselves in Mesopotamia became known as *Aramaeans*. Thus the *Aramaens* and the Arabs belonged to the same stock of people as the Tamil *Ar-magans* of India. The brown Arab is ethnically the same type of race as the Meditarranean or the Dravidian of India. The *Abu* and the *Umma* of the Arabs are the same as the *Appa* and the *Amma* of the Tamils of India. Indeed, the Dravidian Culture was early imported to Arabia by its immigrants from South India. In the 4th millenium B. C. India had its own Arabia (Arab) in the name *Har-appa*, the aspirated form of *Ar-appa*, in the Panjab.

3. *Rab*, God of the Arab was also *Arab*, later *Rab*, by syncope of the initial vowel. Thus the people, their country and their God all bore one common name Ar-ab, Arab, (A)Rab, deducible from the name of the patriarch Abraham, the South-Indian *Appa-Ram*. The etymology of *Rab*, cognate form of *Arab* (AR-father), indicates that the idea of the fatherhood of God, later repudiated in Islam challenging the Christian belief, is inherent to Arab culture, as the people's own personification of the whole community of Arab into *Rab*.

4. *Makkā*. *Mak* and *Bak* were the branches of the India people known as *Ar*. It is said that the older name of *Makkā* was *Bakkā* (a camp) where Ismail, the son of Abraham, had first encamped in the land of Bedouins. I suggest that *Bakkā* or *Makkā* signified a camp, after the name of the same people who had encamped there. Various *Makkas* or the encampments of the *Mak* people are found as *Makkan* and also *Magan* in Mesopotamia. The Tamil termination *an* worn out in Mecca, is preserved in the Mesopotamian *Magan*, *Makkan* and in *Makran* (Baluchistan). The original home of the *Mak*-. Tribe appears to be the *Magadha* in the heart of India,

known to the Vedic people as the non-Aryan *Maganda*. The territory of *Baka* or *Bakāsura* is also mentioned round about the same area, in the *Mahābhārata*.

5. *Elāhi-Allah*. In support of the Magandhan origin of the Mak people who had founded Mecca in Arabia, I suggest that *'Helaya'*, *'Helaya'*, the war-cry of the Magandas of ancient Magadha, which they had raised against the invading Aryans in the Vedic age (vide *S'atapatha),* might be read—not as Patañjali has understood it—to signify 'Elāhi (ya), Elāhi (ya)', an invocation to god Elāhi, for aid in battle ! This interpretation seems to bear the testimony of history as also of the modern usage of the word *Elāhi (ya)*, in hour of need, *Yā Elāhi*? Patañjali's supposition that the non-Aryan Magandas spoke Aryan language is groundless. My suggestion is that *Elāhi* was originally a Tamil word with its component *Al-Ahi*, (*Al*=all, divine and *Ahi*, an aspirated form of *Aii*, name of the tribe and then their tribal deity). Thus *Al-Ahi* or *Al-Aha* would originally be Tamil words signifying the Universal Lord, arabicized as *Elāhi* or *Allāh* and the Arabic *Ahad* (Tamil, *Ad*= Father) or *(v) āhad* would mean the oneness or unity of God with man. Indeed if this interpretation be found correct, the cry of Elahiya or Allah was first raised in India in 3000 B. C. in the plains of Magadha long before it was heard in Arabia. It is the pre-Meccan Maks of India, who had first taken it to Arabia. We are already familiar with *Ahi*, who, in India, fought against Indra in the Vedic Age.

6. *Ahmad-Muhammad*. The name *Muhammad*, we know, is augmentation of *Ahmad*. *Ahmad*, I suggest may be reconstructed as *Ah-mad*, that is *madd* or the lengthening of *Ah* (cf. the name for God *madd*, *Umz)*. Lengthening of the life of the Father-God (Ah-ad), would indeed be the most suitable name for His progeny *i. e.* man ! It would indicate the belief that man is not a product of matter; he is divine in origin (cf. Quran-*fi min ruhi*) ; *Ahmad*, the 'son of God' would indeed be praiseworthy ; and *Hamd*, in abstraction, an act of praise ? All praise be to God—*Ab-hamad-u-Allah*.

7. *Kaaba*. The temple of *Kaaba* has the fomous tradition of being built by Abraham. The derivation of *Kaaba* from *Kaab*, an ankle, though suggestive, appears to be fanciful, unsupported as it is by the history of *Kaaba* itself. I would connect *Kaaba*, 'the holy shrine within a fortification', with the Sumerian word *Gepār*, 'a fortified temple', which, in its turn, is connected with the South-Indian word *Gopura* 'a fortified sacred enclosure'.

Thus South- Indian Sanskritized form *Gopur*= Sumerian *Gep-ār*, Hebrew *Kaphar*, Arabic *Kaaba*, with final *r* slurred away, and the accent placed on the initial syllable. The sumerian *Gep-ār* is enclosed by a thick buttressed wall like the Arbian *Kaaba* and the South-Indian *Gopura*. Note the elaborate temple *Gepar-ku*, built at *Ur*, by Bur Sun, as a shrine for Ningal. The special variety of temple-architecture is characteristically the same in *Gopura, Gep-ār* and *Kaaba*. the final *Ar* that has survived in Sumerian *Gep-ār* is of Tamil origin. It explains the special variety of temple-architec-

ture as a fortress —*Ar* in Tamil signifying a fortification ? The temple-ceremonials that obtain in India, such as, circumambulation, homage to the idol and sacrifice still survive in Kaaba. Hebrew *Kaphar* in the sense of *Kaffārā*—sacrificial atonement, tells the same tale ?

Unfortunately, the original Tamil form of *Gopur* is now lost. The Arabic K in *Kaaba* may correspond to G in *Gopur*, as in the case of Arabic *Halāku* corresponding to the Turkish *Halāgu.* But *b* in *Kaaba* may be a relic of the original radical in Tamil which may be reconstructed a *Gab. Note the word *Gab* in a royal Sumerian name, *Lugal-ki Gab-Niddu*, which as a Tamil name, signifies. *The King Emperor-holy-Naidu.* The Tamil **Gab-ār* would mean a holy fortification, serving as a prototype, both phonetically and semantically for the above group of words such as *Gabra, Gibrael*, *Kibra*, *Kabir*-augmented from *Akbar* all seem to belong to the same group of words related to Tamil **Gab-ar* 'holy and great'?

Thus *Kaab-ar* 'the holy fortification', has for its deity *Al-Kaab*, 'the Holy One', known to the religious folklore of Hindus as *Makkeshvara* (?) 'the Lord God of Makka'. *Al-Ah* (originally the deity of the holy sanctuary) *Gab-ar* is still invoked as *Allah-o-Akbar. Kāfar* who got his name as worshipper at the temple of *Kaab (ar)-Gepar*, *Gopur*, *Kaphar*, and who believed in the sacrificial cult of *Kaffārā*f soon became known as an infidel for his refusal to believe in the new dispensation of Islam.

8. *Islam.* The etymology of the *Islam* may be studied as below :— Arabic *Islam.*, Old Tamil *Shellam*, (Modern Tamil) *Cheram*', Hebrew *Uru-Shalem* (= Jerusalem) 'the house of *Shalem*', also *Solomon* (= Tamil **Shellam-an*), *Sarah* (= wife of Abraham), Brahui, *Shella* 'the fair one', Tamil *Shellai*, *Chera* 'woman' (= Sanskrit *Kerala*). The Arabic still preserves the memory of the Tamil name *Shellai* (the fair one) in the name *Salim* :+(t) 'a tender woman.' *Salāmat* in Arabic signifies freedom from defect, *Salam* signifying peace and *Salām* a greeting ? If the etymology of the word *Islam* as I propose is correct, *Islam* cognate form of the Tamil *Shellam*, should mean 'The fair religion' (which belonged to the tradition of Abraham).

9. *Madina.* The city-name Madina may be split up as *Mad-ina* on the analogy of *Edd-ina*, older name for Eden or Adan. Note *An*, a Tamil termination added to city-names on the Palar river in South-India, such as, *Ar-an* (a fortified place); also *Harran* in North Mesopotamia. The variants of *an* are *in* and *ni* as in South-Indian names of placcs, such as *Ar-in* or *Arni*, a fortification, which the Tamil *AR* used to live. The Tamil terminations *an*, *in*, or *ni* in the sense of city-names stand for *Ur* or *Ura*—a Tamil name for city. Thus Sumerian *Eridu-Ediru*, The *Ad-Ura*—a correspond to *Ad-an*, *Ed-en.* Now, if *Mad* is the radical in the city-name *Mad-ina* it would signify the city of *Mad.* In line with the general movement of the Tamils of the clan of Abraham from South-India to Arabia, I would connect the radiant city of *Mad*' or *Mad-ina* wfth tne capital city of *Mad* or *Mad-ura*, the most ancient seat of civilization in South India. There is nothing surprising in it. The ancient name of their capital city, Madura

was taken by the Tamil emigrants to every part of the world they had gone. There are many *Maduras*. The Tamils took the name of their capital city not only to Arabia but in their long course of expansion, they took it still farther to Egyt, which in the Achaemenian inscriptions in the 5th and the 6th centuries B. C. was known as *Mudraya* an obviously corrupt from of Madura. As *Ad-ura*, modern *Adyar* in South India, gave us *Ediru*, *Eridu* and finllay Adan in Mesopotamia, Madurā, the first great city of civilization in S. India gave us *Mad-an* or Madina, the city of civilization in Arabia, Tamil *ur* and *ina* being interchangeable suffixes for city-names. Madīa was built on the older city of Yasrab, but the names Madīa was favoured by the Prophet who belonged to the line of Abraham. In India, the South-Indian, Madura gave us the famous city of Mathura, older name Madhura, an aspirated form of Madura. Mathura of Northern India, Mudraya of Egypt, and Madīna in Arabia, all point to the South-Indian Madura, their common mother of civilization.

10. *Quran*. Kuran may be studied as *Kur-ān* (Kur-meaning a rhythm, a verse, and *An* or *An*, a Sumerian suffix, signifying Heaven. Note Semitic cognate *Anu*). Kuran would, therefore, mean the divine chant, the heavenly song or the sacred reading. The South-Indian cognate word for Kurān may be found in *Kur-al* or *Kural* (Tamil *Kur*, 'to sound loudly'=a song, and *Al* denotes *all, divine* as in *Al-Amma* etc.). *Kural* would mean the divine song. Thus Tamil *Kural* and Arabic *Kuran*, both words agreeing in their radical form and meaning supply us a common religious tradition of the sacred reading (*Kur*.) among men of South-India and Arabia. The terminations vary in form and not in meaning, as in the case of *Madura* and *Madīna*.*

* In his learned work, "The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran" (Baroda, G. O. S. LXXIX., 1938), Dr. A. Jeffery (of the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo) has listed hundreds of Loan words which are found used in the Quran. Only two words of S. Indian affinity namely, *Zanjibīl*, traced to Tamil *inji* (= *inji*-vēr (Sanskrit *Śrṅga-vera*) and *Kafur*, connected with Sanskrit *Karpūra*, have been mentioned in these lists. The few new Philological equations that have been suggested and sought to be established in the foregoing article require further investigation based on fully authenticated objective data. It is feared that much in the article has to be taken with a great deal of caution and care particularly as regards the data purporting to refer to the Tamil Language which are found to be either purely fictitious or else based on farfetched ideas. The ancient Tamil literature knows of no such tribes as the *Ar*-s and *Aii*-s. *Appa* is a late word for 'father' in the language while *Ad*- is unknown in that sense. "*An*" is a personal termination, while '*alla*' is a negative particle incapable of signifying 'all'. *Gopura* is a Sanskrit word while *Naidu* is a caste-name of Telugu pedigree (from Skt. *Nāya-ka*) which must have found currency in the Tamil country from the Vijayanagar period onwards. It would be therefore, anachronistic to claim its having been taken in such prehistoric times as the third millennium B. C. to Sumeria. Such theories have been adumbrated before, also, in works like "The Missing Links" of Mr. Duraiswami Iyengar, of Madras, and have naturally become effete. —Ed.

Totality.[1]

By

C. R. SANKARAN and M. G. VANKATESIAH, *Poona.*

[*This paper is based on Sapir's Totality (Lan., Mono., No. 6 1930) and deals with quantity with reference to Telugu. The materials are classified and arranged in the same order as found in Sapir with special comments wherever new ideas are indicated. A table of totalizers is given at the end of the paper.* *We also acknowledge the help given by Mr. K. Sanjivamurthy Rao of Bellary in preparing this paper*][2]

I. *Whole Part relation :—*

ella or *anni* (all)-indicates inability to proceed after count,
ella or *anta* (whole)-indicates unwillingness to break up into smaller objects.

Unlike in Kannaḍa these two are differently totalised.
mējālella or *mējālanni*-all the tables,
mējanta or *mējella*-the whole table,
mējalagumpanta-all the tables or groups of tables (here *anni* is not used),
mējālagumpulanni-all the groups of tables,
The use of the plural *(lu)-la* may be noted here.

Quantifiables are divided into Individualised and Totalizable-susceptible of various kinds of aggregation either direct or based on some previous operation of disintegration.

II. *Six Types of Totalizables :—*

1. The whole existent-*mējella* or *mējanta*,

1. For the glossary of technical terms used in this paper the reader is referred to Sapir (p. 6). These terms are illustrated by the following four Telugu sentences :— 1. *Nālugu gorrelu vaccucunnavi* (four sheep are coming). *Nālugu* -quantifier; *gorrelu* - quantifiable; *Nālugu gorrelu* - quantificate (for persons *Nāluguru* is used or *nālugu mandi* and a word like *nālku jana* is not found in Telugu, as *nālugu* is not found to combine with *jana*). 2. *Oka piḍikeḍu biyyamu* (a handful of rice), *biyyamu*-quantifiable *okapiḍikeḍu biyyamu*-quantificate (*piḍikili* means handful. *piḍikili* + *eḍu* = *piḍikeḍu*. *eḍu* = *parimāṇarthaka-pratyaya* to indicate measure). 3. *Anni paṇḍlu nāku immu* (give me all the fruits). *paṇḍlu* - quantifiable; *anni* - quantifier; *anni paṇḍlu* - quantificate (*ella* as in Kannaḍa is also used; but *anni* is more common) *vāninanniṭini nāku immu* (give me he sum total of those), *vāninanniṭini* - quantifcate. Sometimes *vatinanniṭini* is colloquially used).

2. Cf. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Vol. IV. No. 3, for another paper by the authors on Totality with reference to Kannaḍa.

2. Summated existent - *mējābhāgamulanni* or *mējābhāgālanni*,
3. Persistently whole existent - *mējābhāgamulanni* (all the parts of the table); this is also called the *Reassertedly whole existent*.
4. Simple aggregate - *mējālanni* (all the tables)
5. Whole aggregate - *mējālagumpanta* (the whole set of tables),
6. Reasserted aggregate - *mējālagumpulanni* (all the sets of the tables),

The uses of *anta, anni, ella,* and the plural suffix - (*lu*) -*la*, may be noted here.

III. *Singularised Totalizer* :—'Each' individualises more clearly than 'every.' But in Telugu we have *prati*, or *oṇḍonḍu* (*ordondu in* Kannaḍa), or *okaṭokaṭi* for 'each.' The first is common to Telugu and Kannaḍa. To give the meaning of 'every' (all accumulating by increments of one) there is a tendency, as in Kannaḍa, to repeat the word, e. g., *iṇṭiṇṭiki dīpalunnavi* (every house has lights).

IV. *Definite and Indefinite Totalizers* :—*ella* cannot be ambiguous or indefinite (all); *palu*, corresponding to *halavu* in Kannaḍa is indefinite : *konni* (some) corresponding in Kannaḍa to *kelavu* (some) is indefinite but sometimes gives a sense of minority, e. g., *koṇdaru vacciyuṇḍiri* (only some had come). In Telugu, as in Kannaḍa, there is no corresponding term for both *manamu*, which conveys the same meaning as *nāvibbaru* (including the person to whom we are speaking in Kannaḍa), and *mēmu*, which does not include the person to whom it is conveyed; these to terms are peculiar in sense to Telugu. There is no corresponding term to *manamu* in Kannaḍa. There are terms like *mīriddaru* (you two), *vāriddaru* (they two), *mēmiddaru* (we two) and *mēmandaru* (all of us).

There is a .class of totalizers in Telugu which is in one way definite and yet indefinite, as in Kannaḍa. This is more abstract than 'simple evaluated direct' totalizers and less abstract than 'general calculated evaluated modified' totalizers. In our opinion this forms a link between 'general' and 'specialised' totalizers.

āru (six) is definite, but in the following combinations :—
nālgāru - indefinite but means a number of one digit,
padiyāru - indefinite but means a number of two digits,
veyyāru - indefinite but means a number of four digits,
kōṭyāru - indefinite but means a number of eight digits, etc.

The term *nūrāru* (indefinite but meaning a number of three digits) is common to both Kannaḍa and Telugu.

Special terms indicating numbers like *nūṭapadiyāru* (one hundred and sixteen) and *veyyinni nūṭa padiyāru* (one thousand one hundred and sixteen) have a honorific value, which is considered to be greater than the actual number indicated. A corresponding term to these is not found in Kannaḍa. The semantic content attched to *veyyinninūṭapadiyāru* (= 1116) is greater than that which the expression can ordinarily signify.

V. *Direct and calculated totalizers* :—

Direct -*ella*, *anta* (whole).

Calculated -*oṭṭu moṭṭamu* (the sum total). *oṭṭu* is common both t(Telugu ond Kannaḍa.

VI. *Universal statements* :—

Puṭṭinavār ella caccē tīravalenu (all that are born must die). Here *ella* i not totalizer but class-indicator.

Pratimanuṣyuḍunu cāvavalenu (every man has to die). Note the us of *nu*. Here *prati* is a class-indicator.

VII. *Evaluated Totalizers* :—

niṇḍa (full); *cālinanta* (sufficient); *bharti* (entire); *taginanta* (enough *cokka* (perfect).

VIII. *Modified Totalizers* :—

1. Distributive -*okaṭokaṭiga*; 2. Limitative -*Intinta*, *antanta*; 3. E› clusive -*kaṭṭukaṭṭe* (the whole set or bag and not one or two pieces or parts ; This is common to both Kannaḍa and Telugu.

IX. *Negated Totalizers* :—

1. *anduru* (*nu*) *kādu* (not all); 2. *ēmiyulēka pōlēdu* (not withoı anything); *rānivārē lēdu*, *rākunnavārē lēdu* (not one that did not come 3. *anta* (*yu*) *biyyame* (nothing but rice)-emphatic.

X. *Specialised Totalizers* :—

1. *Collective noun* :—a flock of sheep. Collective nouns of this typ do not exist in Telugu. The general terms *gumpu*, *piṇḍu* are used. *Piṇḍ* is used only for cattle and not for persons generally.

2. *Direct Specialised Totalizers* :—(*a*) Non-evaluated simple -*jamīnand* modified-*vāṇiki cērina jamīnu maṭṭuke*, (*b*) evaluated simple *gorrela mand* modfied -*oka piḍikedu biyyamu* (a handful of rice).

3. *Calculated Specialised Totalizer* :—(*a*) Non-evaluated simple -*oṭ kolacina jamīnanta; modified*-*koluva migālina jamīnanta*, (*b*) Evaluated sir ple -*pūrti pōyina jamīnanta*; modified -*kāvalyunanta jamīnu*.

XI. *Quantificates involving totalization* :—

(*i*) *Totalized quantificates which determine existents or occurrents* :—

1. Totalized selection quantificates : *īyella*, *iviyella*, *īrendu*,
2. Totalized order quantificates : *poḍugunu*, *pratiyokaṭiyandunu*,
3. Totalized space quantificats : *andandu*, *endendu (nu)*,
4. Totalized time quantificates : *eppuḍunu*,
5. Totalized condition quantificates : *annisthitulandunu*,
6. Totalized purpose quantificates : *tātparyamu*, *uddēśamu*,
7. Totalized cause quantificates : *kāraṇamu*,
8. Totalized requirements quantificates : *pūrtiga*,
9. Totalized manner quantificates : *anni teragula*, *anni vidhamula*,
10. Totalized value quantificates : *cokka*, *nirdoṣa*.

(ii) Total quantificates which are existents or occurrents :—

1. Totalized existent quantificates : *pūrti prapancamu* (There is no term in Telugu corresponding to *iḍī* in Kannaḍa).
2. Totrlized occurrent quantificates : *pūrti kaṭṭelu.*

Sometimes quantifiers pure and simple are often really disguised as quantifiers e. g., *nāku anni iṣṭamu* (I like all things).

(iii) Totalized calculated quantificates :—

1. Selection : *ivanni, idanta, Avanni adanta,*
2. Order : *okokacoṭa,*
3. Space : *jamīnanta,*
4. Time : *nelanta,*
5. Condition : *annisthitulu,*
6. Purpose : *samagramuga,*
7. Cause : *kāranamulakella* (to all causes),
8. Requirement : *kāvalasinaguṇamulakella,*
9. Quality : *kaḍu nalupu* (*kaḍu* in this sense is also used in Kannaḍa),
10. Value : *cokka,*
11. Existent : *naramulandella* (in *all nerves*),
12. Occurrent : *rītiganusāraga* (according to the method laid down).

Theoretically every quantificate may become a specialised quatifier.

Positive	Negative	Partial	Negated Unitizer	Totalised Negative
janulella	*jenulella* *·kādu*	*kondaru*	*okaḍu kāḍu* *(vīri) lo okaḍu* *·kāḍu* *(vāri)* *(mana)* *(mā)* *(mī)* *yavaḍū kādu* *vārilo yavaḍū* *kādu*	(no word for 'none') *yavarū kāru* *(vāri) lo yavarū* *kāru*
adanta	*adanta kādu*	*inta* *sunta* *koncamu* *incuka* *okkaṭokkaṭi*	*knocamukādu* *incukayukādu*	*concamūkādu*

Positive	Negative	Partial	Negated Unitizer	Totalised Negative
mējanta	*mējanta kādu*	*mējālo konta bhāgamu*	*mējālokonta bhāgamū kādu*	*mejālo ē bhāgamū kādu*
pratiyokaḍu	*pratiyokaḍu kādu*	*yavaḍyo -kaḍu* *yavaḍokaḍu palu* *evarōkondaru*	*okkaḍunū kāḍu* *okkaḍevadū kādu* *evaḍūkādu*	*evarunūkāru*
vāridda -ru	*vāridda -ru kādu*	*vāriddari -lonokaḍu*	*vāriddarilo -nokaḍunu kādu*	*vāriddarilo yavaḍū kādu*
ellappu -ḍu	*eppaḍunu kādu*	*appuḍappuḍu* *okkokkappu -ḍu*	*eppuḍunū lēdu* *eppiṭikini lēdu*	*eppuḍunū lēdu* *epputikinī lēdu*
kāvalasi -nanta	*kāvalasinanta -lēdu*	*incuka*	*kāvālasinanta lēdu* *ēmī lēdu*	*cālani lēdu*

Note :—There is no single word for "none"
The use of ***okkaṭokkaṭi*** and ***appuḍappuḍu*** as partial negatives; ***koñccmu*** correspondigng to Kannaḍa ***koñca*** • one word for 'some of it'.

Table of Totalizers.

Totalizers	General Abstract	Direct	Non-evaluated	Simple...........*anni, anta, ella* (all) *anta* (whole) *okaṭokati, ondondu* (each)
				modified...........*pūrtiga* (the whole of) *ēmīlēka* (none at all)
			Evaluated	simple...........*bharti* (full) *pūrti* (complete) *cālinanta* (enough)
				modified...........*valasinanta* (quite enough)
		Calculated	Non-evaluated	simple...........*oṭṭu* (the sum of) *mottamu* (the sum total of)
				modified...........*kavīnimottamumaṭṭuku* (just the sum of)
			Evaluated	simple...........*entavalayunō anta* (a calculatedly sufficient amount of)
				modified...........*entakāvalayunu antamaṭṭukē* (just a calculatedly sufficient amount of).
				Padiyāru- a number of two digits. *Nūrāru-* a number of three digits etc.
	Specialised (concrete)	Direct	Non-evaluated	simple...........*manda, piṇḍu* § (group)
				modified...........*ekaramula mottamu mātramu* (only the total acreage of)
			Evaluated	simple...........*gumpantayu* (the complete herd of)
				modified...........*cālinanta gorrela manda* (an ample flock of sheep)
		Calculated	Non-evaluated	simple...........*kinda kūḍina ekaramula mottamu mātramu* (the whole computed)
				modified......*migilina vārilō mukkālupālu* (absolutely all the remaining people)
			Evaluated	simple...........*oṭṭuencina janulu* (the completely counted people)
				modified...........*enta kāvalenō antamaṭṭukē* (a merely sufficient quota of)

(*i*) No corresponding term for 'both' and 'none'.

(*ii*) No specialist collective nouns like a *flock* of sheep. But *manda* is used only for animals and not for persons, generally.

(*iii*) *Mukkālupālu* literally means 'three-fourths'; in usage it also means 'almost all' and 'all' (as in Kannaḍa).

§ Cf. *Hiṇḍu* (group) and Old Kannaḍa *piṇḍu* and *viṇḍu* as in *giliviṇḍu*.

A Romanic Orthography for the Oriya Language

By

DANIEL JONES, *London*

In 1941 Prince Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo, M. A. (Cantab.) of Mayurbhanj State, Prince Consort of Bastar State, originated a movement for writing all Indian languages by means of a scientifically constructed Romanic alphabet. This "National Script for India" was evolved by using the ordinary Roman alphabet and supplementing it by various letters of the International Phonetic Alphabet, and (in the capitals) by one Greek, one Polish and two Russian letters. The details of the alphabet as applied to Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu had been worked out by J. R. Firth(now Professor of General Linguistics in the University of London), and specimens collected by him were published in 1942 in a pamphlet by myself entitled "The Problem of a National Script for India". The application of this proposed National Script was also worked out for Sinhalese by me in collaboration with the late Mr. H. S. Perera, Director of Education, Colombo, and an account of it with colloquial and literary texts was published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* vol ix, part 3 (1937).

Now Prince Deo and I have worked out in collaboration, the form of the alphabet wbich would meet the needs of the Prince's own mother-tongue, Oriya. The specimen which follows and which was prepared by him, is based upon the language as ordinarily spoken at Cuttack and in the south of Orissa generally. Being intended for children and illiterates, it does not take account of words and forms belonging exclusively to the literary language. There are for instance no doubled consonants, because children and illiterates do not make any distinction between single and doubled consonants.

Alphabet for Colloquial Oriya

Lower Case

ɔ a i u e o ŋ h k kh g gh c ch

j jh ʈ ʈh ɖ ɖh ɳ t th d dh n p ph

b bh m y r l ɭ v s h ɽ

Capitals

Ɔ A I U E O Ŋ H K KH G GH C CH

J JH Ʈ ƮH Я ЯH Ɲ T TH D DH N P PH

B BH M Y R L L V S H Л

1. See *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* vol. viii, parts 2 and 3, 1936.

Specimen of Colloquial Oriya

Thore utorɔ pɔbonɔ o surujɔ apɔŋa bhitore ki-e ɔdhikɔ jordar, e-i bisɔyore kɔji-a kɔribaku lagile. Ɔnek jhɔgɔɽa pore goɽi-e oḍhɔŋi-oɽha mɔŋisɔku dekhi surujɔ kɔhile "Tucha bibadore ki labhɔ? Se-i mɔŋisɔ-ɽiku dekhuchɔ.[1] Amɔ duhiŋkɔ bhitoru ji-e tar oḍhɔŋiɽi ta dehoru ɔlɔgɔ kɔri paribɔ se e-i jhɔgɔɽa jitibɔ" Utorɔ pɔbɔnɔ o e-i kɔtha mani nele Tankɔr pɔrikhya age hela. Si-e nijɔr sara jor khɔɽa-i bɔhibaku lagile, kintu si-e jeɽe jorɔre bɔhibaku arɔmbhɔ kɔle lokɔɽi bhi teɽe kɔsikɔri nijɔr oḍhɔŋiɽi dehɔr caripakhɔre jɔɽa-i dhɔriba ku lagila. Jetebeḷe utorɔ pɔbɔnɔ pɔrikhyare hari ja-i chaɽi dele, surujɔ nijɔr bɔḷɔ dekha-ibaku baharile o nijɔr usumɔ asvasi kirɔŋɔ mɔŋisɔɽi upɔre ḍhaḷi taku bes aramɔ dobaku lagile. Ɔti ɔḷpɔ khyɔŋɔre lokɔɽi khɔrare gɔrɔm ho-i apɔŋe nijɔ ichare hiŋ oḍhɔŋiɽi durɔku sɔra-i dela.

[1] *A contraction of* ***dekhu-ɔchɔ.***

To write literary Oriya would need the introduction of the letter Ṣ(Σ), and "open" i and u would have to be distinguished from "close" *i* and *u*. The letters *y* and *w* can be used for this purpose, as in writing Hindustani (see "The Problem of a National Script for India", pp. 12, 13).

The following is a version of the same text in literary Oriya.

Specimen of Literary Oriya

Ekɔda wttorɔ pɔbɔnɔ o surjyɔ porɔsporɔ mɔdhyre ky-e boḷiyas e-y bysɔyɔ ne-y kɔḷɔhɔ wposthytɔ hola. Ɔnek tɔrkɔ bytɔrkɔ pore goɽy-e wttɔriyabrwtɔ monwṣyɔkw dekhy surjyɔ kɔhyle "Brwtha bybadɔre ky labhɔ? Se monwṣyɔɽykw dekhw ɔchɔ Ambhɔ mɔdhyɔrw je ehar wttɔriyɔɽy ta dehɔrw ɔntorɔ kory parybɔ se ehy bybadɔre joyi hobɔ." Wttorɔ pɔbɔnɔ mɔdhyɔ e kɔtha many nele Tankɔr pɔrikhya prɔthɔmɔ hela. Se nyjɔr sɔmɔstɔ bɔḷɔr sɔhytore bɔhybakw arɔmbhɔ kɔle kyntw se jete begɔre bɔhybakw lagyle lokɔɽy mɔdhyɔ tete drwɽhɔ bhabɔre nyjor wttɔriyɔ̃ɽy dehɔr cary-aɽe jɔɽa-y rɔkhyla Jetebeḷe wttɔrɔ pɔbɔnɔ pɔrikhyare byphɔḷɔ ho-y chaɽy dele, surjyɔ nyjɔr pɔrakrɔmɔ dekha-ybakw baharyle o nyjɔr aramɔdayi wttapɔ monwṣyɔɽyr upɔre bɔrɔṣybakw lagyle. Ɔty ɔḷpɔ sɔmɔyɔre mɔnwṣyɔɽy surjyɔnkɔr kyrɔŋɔ-dvara tɔptɔ ho-y wtswkɔtar sohyt nyjor wttɔriyɔɽy dehɔrw durɔkw ɔntorɔ kory dela.

कौन

By

JULES BLOCH, *Paris*.

Depuis Beames II, 321, 323 on admet généralement qu'apadh. *kavaṇa* et ses formes modernes, mar. *kauṇ*, hi. *kaun* etc..., proviennent d'un groupe Skt *kaḥ punaḥ* sous la forme attesttée par le Pali *ko pana*. Je l'ei répété moi-même (*Marathe* 209, *Indo-aryen* 202); il n'empêcheq ue cette explication est mauvaise.

Phonétiquement d'abord. De *ko pana* le dérivé attendu est **kovana*, non *kavana* : ni le timbre de la première voyelle, ni le rythme du mot ne concordent.

Morphologipuement surtout. La forme prise pour point de départ appartient au seul masculin singulaier. Or apabh. *kavaṇa-* est un thème d'adjectif, par lui-même indéterminé, qui reçoit des suffixes variables suivant genre, nombre et cas :

Par exemple : *Bhavisattakaha*,

38.6 kavaṇa kitti, jasu kavaṇu jiyantahā

"Quelle gloire, quelle renommée pour des vivants ?

261.3 kō tuhu, kavaṇē kajjē āio

"Qui es-tu, pourquoi es-tu venu ?"

De même chez Hemacandra (d'après Alsdorf : *Apabh-Studian*), 88) *kavanahī dēsi* - " en quel pays ".

De façon semblable en vieil avadhi, par exemple, on trouve à côté de *kō*, masc. *kaunu* fém. *kauni* (B. Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi, 1937*).

C'est sans doute pourqupi Pischel, s'écartant de Beames, rapprochait Skt. *kava* - dépréciatif (*Gr. der Pkt. Sprachen* §428). Nuance de sens parfaitement explicable dans un mot de ce genre; mais la terminaison demeure inexpliquée.

Cherchera-t-on dans la finale *-vaṇa* la la trace be skr. *manaḥ* qui a, des siècles plus tard, été employé en bengali à côté de *matam* ou *matiḥ* dans *keman kemat* "de quelle espèce ?" (S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and devel. of the Bg. Lang.* §599) et peut-être en tsigane dans le type *čimoni* "quelque, chose (Sampson, (Sampson, *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales* §205) ? Ceci supposerait une création dont on ne trouve aucun indice à l'époque ancienne; surtout la forme de thème interrogatif qu'on attend est, soit *kiṃ* ou *kaṃ*, soit une forme d'oblique, c'est-à-dire un élément trop lourd pour aboutir à *ka-*.

Faute d'explication directe, on est amené à chercher une explication indirecte, par l'analogie.

Existe-t-il un pronom susceptible de s'annexer au cas direct une terminaison *-ana*, et capable sous cette forme élargie à la fois de valeur

pronominale et de valeur d'adjectif ? Oui ; à l'époque, moyenne, il en existe un, et un seul : c'est *appā=appāna,* ùo l'alternance résulte de l'étymologie : le thème long est originairement l'oblique de l'autre=sg. nom. skt. *ātmā,* pkt. *appā;* gén. skt. *ātmanaḥ,* pkt. *appaṇo.* La double valeur du thème *appan-* résulte de la fusion de deux formes. L'une est le thème oblique devenu indépendant dès le prākrit : *appāṇo* n. sg. se rencontre déjà dans la *Sattasaī; ussuyabhūteṇa appāṇeṇaṃ* "de son âme impatiente" dans *l'Ayarangasutta* cf, Pischel §401. L'autre form est un adjectif dérivé, de type **ātmana-,* équivalent à skt. *ātmya,* cf. *ātmanya* TBr.; cet adjectif. a été mentionné par Hemacandra et identifié par Alsdorf (*Ap. Studien* 68); on le rencontre par ex. dans la *Bhavisattaha :*

36·9 appuṇu angu nāhī darisivvan "il ne faut pas rèvéler son propre parti"; on le retrouve en vieux rajasthani (Tessitori, *Notes on Old Western Raj.* §92).

La valeur double de *appana-* a entrainé une valeur double de *kavana* nouvellement créé. On trouve dès le XII° siècles dans le *Sanatkumāracarita :*

530- *kō jippai kayaṇēṇa* "lequel sera vaincu par lequel ?"

616- *tuhū kavaṇa* "qui es-tu ?"

Et. antérieurement déjà (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,* chez Pischel *Materialien,* p. 53, XVI), *ṇa hu āṇai dōṇha vi candu kavaṇu* "ne sait pas des deux lequel est la lune".

De la mê façon dans le texte en guzrati du XV° siècle étudié par Deva (*A study of the Guj. lang. in the 16th. cent. V. S.*). alors que *āpaṇa* est réservé au rôle d'adjectif. *kūṇa* a less deux emplois :

Adjectif : 468-*kūṇa u'hambha sambhāvīi* "quel appui serati imaginé ?" 239- *kuṇiim eki thāmi* "en quelque endroit"; Pronom : 129-*jai jāga māhiī rāgadveṣā an huta, tau kūṇa duḥkha pāmata, athavā...kūṇa mokṣa napāmata* "si dans el monde n" existaient pas passion et haine, alors qui éprouverait de la souffrance, qui manquerait le salut ?'

Le détail de l'histoire est difficile à suivre. Cela tient non seulement aux lacunes ordinaires de la documentation, mais aussi au manque de parallélisme entre les sorts respectifs de l'interrogatif et du réfléchi.

En avadhi, *kavana,* anciennement adjectif, devient *kaun* adjectif et pronom à l'époque moderne, tandis que d'autre part *āpuna* dont il n'y a qu'un exemple comme pronom chez Tulasīdās fournit aujourd'hui à la fois le pronom et l'adjectif sans que *kō* et *āpu* aient disparu (voir Saksena p. 191-199). Mais il n'en va pas de même ailleurs. En face de *kauṇ,* le panjabi a *āpī,* dont *apna* est l'adjectif; en face de *kāṇ* le lahnda a *āp,* dont l'adjectif est *āpṇā*; une partie des parlers tsiganes de l'Europe (balkanique, allemand. gallois) a non pas *ko* comme le hongrois et bohémien, mais *kon,* alors que le réflèchi n'existe que sous la forme de l'oblique, sg. *p-es,* pl. *p-en.* Le guzrati n'a en regard de *kōṇ* que *pōt-*, *āp* étant pronom honorifique, et *āpṇe* servant de lére p. dupluriel inclusif. Le nepali, en regard de *kun* que *aphu* (adjectif *aphnu*) et *pai.* L'hindi n'a que *āp* (adjectif *apnā*)

en face de *kaun*. Inversement en regard du pronom *pāna* le kaśmiri a l'interrogatif *kus*; et le sindhi, en regard de *pāṇ°*, l'interrogatif *kər*.

Par contre, il est significatif que le marathe présente *āpaṇ* et *kauṇ* ensemble et sans concurrence de *āp* ni *ko* (sauf avec l'emploi indéfini qu'on retrouve ailleurs, dans la locution figée *nako* "il n'y a personne pour—il ne convient pas de" (voir J. Bloch, *Marathe* 270); et qu'en chattisgarhi aussi (Hira Lal, *A Grammar of the Ch. dialect* 65, 69) *āpan* et *kon* soient également sans concurrents. Il est non moins significatif que dans ces deux langues, à l'inverse de celles considérées p'us haut, *āpan-* adjectif manque: le marathe a *āplā*, le chattisgarhi se sert de l'oblique *āpus*.

Ces inégalités s'expliquent sans doute par une de ces collisions lexicales dont Gilliéron a illustré le mécanisme et dont Meillet a énuméré quelques effets sur les anciennes langues indo-européennes (*Cinquantenaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes* 1690) de deux homonymes prêtant à confusion, l'un s'altère ou même disparaît, quand ce n'est pas le cas pour les deux. On conçoit aisément comment les deux **appan-*, l'adjectif et le pronom, ont pu mutuellement se gêner et s'expulser. En tsigane de Syrie *kōn* reste seul, le réfléchi a été remplacé par un mot arabe, *ḥal* "état, condition" (*Maclister Lang. of the Nawar* § 66). En guzrati, sans disparaître, *āpaṇē* s'est, sans doute sprès le XV° siècle, spécialisé dans le role de pronom de Ière personne du pluriel inclusif, que l'avadhi. par exemple ajoute à son rôle normal, et pour quoi le rajasthani emploie *āpā* (Dave 30, 34; Saksena §253 (a); LSI. IX, II 8,10).

Une confirmation du rapport entre *kaun* et *āpan* se voit encore au fait que *kaun* ne s'applique jamais à une chose; pour le neutre, il y a une forme spéciale d'interrogatif; v. guz. *sũ*, mar *kāy*, braj. *kā kahā* hi *kyā* etc... Et l'on vient de voir que de son côté *āp* est à ce point orienté vers l'humanité qu'il en est venu à remplacer des pronoms personnels.

Enfin, si l'on admet que l'interrogatif a pris sa forme longue à un autre pronom an ne s'étonnera pas de voir la même analogie s'étendre à d'autres pronoms encore, mais de façon irrégulière.

En vieux rajasthani, alors qu'existent à la fois *ko* et *kavaṇu* *āpā* et *āpaṇa* *jo* et *so* sont sans doublets (Tessitori §90); en braj, à côté de *ko* et *kaun* et de *āp* et *apnā*, on remarquera que Dh. Varma (*La Langue braj* 843) ignore *jaun* que Kellogg inscrivait dans son tableau XI (quitte à ignorer *kaun* dans le tableau XII). Mais l'avadhi a *jaun* à cotè de *jo*, et Tulasīdāsa en donne déjá des exemples: la langue moderne a créé aussi *taun* (Saksena 180, 189, 190) De même le chattisgarhi a *jon* et *ton* á côte de *je* et *te*, sur le modèle de *kon*. Le guzrati des Parsis (LSI IX, IV 341) a créé le démonstratif masc. *təvāṇ* fém. *təṇī*, alors que la langue normale en est restée à *tə* pour les deux genres. On voit que le système du type hindi *kaun*: *jaun*: *taun*, ne s'est pas institué partout; il résulte du prolongement de l'action analogique qui est à la base de *kaun*.

Some Bengali Etymologies

By

MANOMOHAN GHOSH, *Dacca.*

I am discussing below the etymology of some NIA. (Bengali) words which seem to have received as yet no adequate treatment.[1]

ākhā 'oven'. This word appears to be related with the Vedic *ukhā-* 'fire-place at a sacrifice' which is cognate with Gothic *auhns* 'oven' (vide IGG. II. p. 25). The dialectal form of the word *aukhā* (occurring in Tipperah) seems very much to support this assumption.

upari 'extra income by way bribe or extortion over and above the legal due.' This word seems to have been wrongly derived from Skt. *upa* (vide JD. *sub voce*). It appears very much to be a development of OIA. *udvalika*> **ubbalia*> **ubbaria*> **ubari*. The word **ūbari* seems to have been falsely Sanskritized into *upari*. *udvalika* in ancient India meant payments over and above the regular land revenue, which were demanded by the king or his officers (vide JRAS. 1909, pp. 466 ff., 760 ff).

ot dialectal *õt*, especially in the idiomatic phrase *ot pātā* which means to 'lie in wait for somebody in order to attack him.' This word seems to have been wrongly derived from the Skt. *otu* 'cat' (vide JD. *sub voce*). It appears, however, very much possible that the word has developed from OIA. *abanta (ap* 'water'+*anta* 'end'=*abanta)*> **avanta*> **onta*> *õt* > *ot*. It is a matter of common knowledge with hunters that animals like wild deer or buffaloes are easily to be met with in the vicinity of some stream or river where they occasionally come to drink water. It is near such places that beasts like tigers and leopards lie in wait for their prey. In OIA. killing from such a position was in all probability expressed as *abante pātayitvā māritaḥ* 'killed by felling him on the brink of water.' The word *ot* occurs in other NIA. languages as well and has developed some new meanings as well (see Turner, *sub voce*).

gohārī 'petition, prayer.' According to JD, this word is of non-Aryan origin. This does not seem to be convincing. For, it may well be derived from OIA. **gohārita*. The word *hārita* from the causative of the Skt. √*hṛ* in the *bhāva vācya* means 'presentation.' It was a very good old custom in ancient India that while approaching their king with their petition, people had to make him some valued present which was almost equivalent to the medieval

1. The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :

IGG.=Hirt, ***Indogermanische Grammatik.*** JD=Jñānendra Mohan Das, ***Baṅgālābhāṣar Abhidhāna (2nd ed.), Calcutta,*** ODBL=S, K. Chatterji. ***Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,*** Turner=***Nepali Dictionary.***

nazarānā or modern court-fee. Now at a time when there was as yet no coin in existence, cow was used in its place (cf. the Skt. expression *pañcabhir gobhiḥ krīta iti pañcaguḥ*). Hence, when people were obliged to go to their king with a petition,they probably carried a cow as a present. Hence *gohārita* (cow-presentation) gradually gave rise to *gohāri* (<*goharīa* <**gohārida* <*gohārita*). From the original sense of 'carrying a cow in connection with making a petition' came the meaning 'making a petition for help, cry for help, request for help' etc. (cf. Turner, *gohār* and JD. *sub voce*).

chālā a 'gunny bagy'. It has been wrongly derived from Skt. *sthālī* (vide JD, *sub voce*). The word seems to have come from Skt. *chāga-laka* > **chāalaa* > *chālā* which meant 'the hide of a goat sewn on all sides to make a bag of it.' Words of similar nature like Beng. *bastā borā* and Anglo-Indian *gunny* can respectively be derived from Skt. *bastaka*, 'goat', *varāha* 'boar' and *goṇi-* 'cow,' (*see Mahābhāṣya*). In ancient times, when there were no cotton or jute fabrics, people used hides of animals like cow, big goat and boar for making bags.

toṇā 'sorcery, witch-craft' seems to have been wrongly derived from Skt. *tantra* (vide JD. *sub voce*). Chatterji considers this to be a word of desī origin (vide OBDI, p. 489). The word, however, seems to come from Skt. *tūṇa* 'quiver'. Bengali expression *toṇā kāra* 'to apply a charm' is also equivalent to *bāṇā mārā* lit.to 'strike with an arrow or *bāṇa*'. The process is known to be as follows : the sorcerer makes a crude effigy of a man with powdered rice moistened with water and with the muttering of *mantras* strikes at its heart with an arrow. As a result of this, it is believed the man on whom the sorcery is practised, meets his death.

dohāi 'appeal, cry for help' as in the expression *dohāi mahārājer*. There has as yet been no satisfactory explanation of the origin of this word. Turner (*sub voce.*) has suggested that it means 'twice the cry of *hāi*' and JD. (*sub voce.*) has derived the word from Skt. *devi-āhvāya*. The word, however, seems to have retained in it a history of law and order in the primitive kingly states. The phrase *dohāi mahārājer* would in OIA. be equivalent to *drohāyati mahārājasya* 'this man commits treason against the king'. In ancient times well-organised government for the preservation of law and order was not yet in existence. Hence,, it seems, that people attacked by their enemies or aggressors threatened them as follows : 'In the name of the king I forbid you to molest me or encroach on my rights. The opponent still persisting in his hostile attitude and attacking him, the person aggrieved would cry out *ayam drohāyati mahārājasya*, 'this person defies the king.' Such a cry was sure to have had a great effect at a time when kings had an autocratic power. Persons who might be indifferent about personal quarrels of their neighbours would naturally go to the help of the aggrieved person lest they should be accused of sympathy for the person charged with defiance of the king. From *drohāyati* one can

very easily derive *dohāi* (< **dohāai* < **dohāadi* < **drohāyati*).

polā (dialectal form) for OIA, ***putra*** 'son.' According to Chatterji this word comes from Skt. ****pota-la*** (ODBL. pp. 329 and 698). But in view of the fact that the Skt. word ***pota*** means 'the young one of any animal,' this derivation is not very satisfactory. It seems to be possible to connect this word with ***putla*** < ***putra*** (through an interchange of *r* to *l* as in case of Vedic *śrīla* and Skt. *ślīla*) ***Putla*** gives rise to MIA ***pulla*** which together with a pleonastic -*ā* becomes OB. ***pūlā*** > NB. ***polā***. JD. registers the word ***pulī*** as a (dialectal) feminine form of ***polā*** (vide JD. *sub voce*).

bastā 'a gunny bag.' see under *chālā* above.

bahi, ***bahī***, ***bāi*** 'without, apart from.' The source of this Bengali postposition has been ***vyatīta*** and ***bahiḥ*** (vide ODBL. pp. 772 and 1075 and JD. ***sub voce***). But it is possible to derive these words better from OIA, ***avahīya*** (***sic.***), leaving aside.' Due to strong stress on the second syllable the first syllable has dropped off and hence the word assumed the form ****vahīya*** which gradually gave rise to ***vahī*** and ***vahi*** > Bengali ***bahī***, ***bahi*** and ***bai***, respectively.

buḍi 'a pet name for a female child.' This word has been derived from ***buḍha*** (< ****būḍha*** < MIA. ***vuḍḍha***) + *ī* feminine suffix (vide JD. ***sub voce***). It seems, however, that the word may be connected with MIA. ***voḍahī*** 'a young woman or young lady.'

borā 'a gunny bag.' This word, as has been suggested above, possibly comes from ***varāha*** (***varāha*** > ***varā*** > ***barā*** > ***borā*** cf. Skt. ***parbāla*** > Beng. ***poāra***, vide ODBL. pp. 319f.).

bhor, ***bhora*** 'morning.' JD. derives it from the Skt. √***bhṛ*** to 'fill up'. Now it appears to be a puzzle how filling up of any kind might mean 'morning' or 'the beginning of the day' which was yet to be completed. The Pkt. expression ***nisi bharammi*** 'on the completion of the night' seems to solve this puzzle. The MIA. word ***bhara*** in Bengali easily assumed the form ***bhora*** (***bhor***) cf. ***pona*** (***pon***) from OIA. ***paṇa***, (vide ODBL. pp. 319f.).

Vedicism in Pali.[1]

By

P. V. BAPAT, *Shantiniketan (Bengal).*

1. In my address as the President of 'Pali and Buddhism' Section of the the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares (1943-44), I pointed out that "it is being more and more recognised that the studies of Pali and Buddhism cannot be entirely dissociated from the studies in earlier literature of India, like Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, particularly the last, and that it is not possible to have a proper perspective of the Buddhist thought without thoroughly understanding its back-ground[2]". Oldenberg in his '*Buddha*' has given in the introductory chapters the philosophical and religious back-ground of Buddhism. Coomaraswamy has taken up the same position and gives the interpretation of several words in Pali based on the interpretation of those terms in earlier Brahmanical literature[3]. He adds in fn. 1 to p. 116 "the Buddha's audience of learned Brahmans was already familiar with almost all the technical terms in their Sanskrit forms and with the Indian rather than the specifically Buddhist content of their works; it follows that the more we can approach the texts from the same point of view, the better we shall be able to grasp them". He further adds "What a Brahman auditor, face to face with the Buddha, may be supposed to have understood by a given term may often represent its real value in 'original Buddhism' better than the interpretation of a later Buddhist commentator".

2. It has been already pointed out by V. Fausböll in his Introduction to the English Translation of the *Suttanipāta* (SBE. vol. x, p. xi) that Pali retains in its ancient poetry several forms corresponding to Vedic Nom. plural forms ending in *saḥ*, for example, *samūhatāse* (*Sn.* 14), *paccayāse* (*Sn.* 15), *paṇḍitāse* (*Sn.* 875-76); or verbal forms like *carāmase* (*Sn.* 32), *sikkhisāmase* (*Sn.* 814) with endings corresponding to Vedic ending *mahe*; shorter Vedic plurals like *vinicchayā yāni pakappitāni* (*Sn.* 838) corresponding to Vedic *bhuvanāni viśvā* (*Śve.* 4, 4) or *janimāni viśvā* (*Ait.* 4, 5); shorter instrumental forms in the singular like *mantā*, *pariññā*, *lābhakamyā* for *mantāya*, *pariññāya*, *lābhakamyāya*; infinitives like *vippahātave*, *uṇṇametave*, *sampayātave* corresponding to Vedic infinitives ending in *tave*. It is well-known that Pali retains the *bhiḥ*-ending of instrumental

1. The references to the Pali texts are mostly to the editions published by the Pali Text Society, except in the case of *Visuddhimagg* and *Aṭṭhasālinī* or Commentary on *Dhammangani*, where the references are given to the Devanāgarī editions published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā-Bhavana, Bombay, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, respectively.

2. *Annals of the Bhardarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. xxv, p. 1.

3. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. iv. pp. 116 ff.

plural forms of several words. The Pali words like *ātumānaṃ*, *suvānā*, *mātiyā* can be traced to the Vedic way of pronouncing the conjunct consonants in *martyāḥ*, *s'vānaḥ* which were pronounced as *martiāḥ*, *s'uvānaḥ*. Pali also retains the *ḷ* sound corresponding to the same sound in *agnim īḷe purohitaṃ* (Rv. i, i, i). The Pali word *saddhiṃ* 'with' may be derived from Vedic *sadhrīm*; also the Pali word *sammā* may be traced back to *samyak*.

3. It is known that there are several verbs in Pali which are used in their Vedic sense, and not in their classical sense. For instance, in the famous Pali book of world-literature, *Dhammapada*, verse 6, we have *mayamettha yamāmase*, where the verb *yamāmase* is, I think, to be interpreted in the Vedic sense of √*yam* 'to submit to, to go to (destruction)' as in *mitrāya pañca yemire* (*Rv*. iii, 59, 8). *Dhātupāṭha* I, 1033 (*Pāṇini's Grammatik*) gives its sense of *uparama*. In *Udāna* (7, 10) we have *sassati iva khāyati, passato natthi kiñcanaṃ* where the form *khāyati* is a passive form from the Vedic root √*Khyā* 'to see, to perceive.' Also in *na pakkhāyanti disā sabbā...andhakāraṃ'va khāyati* (*Thera*. 1034), the same root is to be understood. The commentator is right when he explains the words *yamāmase* in the *Dhp*. verse given above, and *na pakkhāyanti* in *Scm*. iii, 203 as, respectively, *uparamāma*, *nassāma* and *na pakāsanti, na nānākaraṇato upaṭṭhahanti*. In *Cariyāpiṭaka* 3, 9, 10, we have *santi pādā avañcanā*, 'I have feet, but they cannot take steps'. Here the verb √*vañc* (cognate √*vaṅk*) is to be understood in its Vedic sense of 'moving crookedly'. This same sense we find in *jīrṇo daṇḍena vañcasi* in *Śvet*. 4, 3. The Pali form *acchati* or *acchi* may be traced back to the Vedic *ā*√*kṣi* from which we have *ākṣete* 'lives, dwells'. Pali *akkosati* (generally accompanied by *paribhāsati*) or *akkosanā*, may be compared to *ākros'a* in *s'ataṃ kṣatriyo brāhmnākros'e* (*Gaut. Dharma*. 2, 3, 6) 'a Kṣatriya should be fined a hundred (coins), if he abuses a Brāhmaṇa.

4. Like the verbs, there are also some substantives which are used in their Vedic or etymological interpretation. In *bhijjati pūti-sandeho* (*Dhp*. 148) 'this putrid body is broken,' or *sandehaṃ nikkhipissāmi sampajāno paṭissato* (*Thera*. 20) 'being mindful and conscious, I shall lay down this body', the word *sandeha* is used in its etymological sense (from *saṃ*√*dih* 'to pile up') of 'that which is piled up'. The same sense we also find in *sandehas te vyas'īryat* in *Chānd*. (5, 15. 2) 'your body would have been shattered to pieces. So also the word *viveka* is used in its root-meaning of 'separation' (from √*vic* 'to separate'), in *vivekaṃ anubrūahaye* 'one should cultivate loneliness.' The expression *na vivekaṃ labhante* in *Chānd*. (6, 9, 2) has also the same sense. In *sussūsā labhate paññaṃ*, the word *sussūsā* is also used in its etymological sense of 'desire to hear,' and not in its later sense of 'attendance or service.'

5. There are also compound words or groups of words which are used in exactly the same sense in both Pali Texts and the Upaniṣads. For instance, the compound word *brahmabandhu* is used exactly in the same

sense in *brahmabandhu pure āsiṃ, idāni kho'mhi brāhmaṇo* (*Thera.* 221, 290), or *brahmabandhu pure āsiṃ, ajja'mhi saccaṃ brāhmaṇo* (*Thera.* 251) 'formerly I was only a kinsman of the Brahmans, now I am a real Brahman,' and in *Chānd.* (6, 1, 1): *ananūcya brahmabandhur iva bhavatīti* 'if one does not study the sacred hymns, one becomes like a mere kinsman of the Brāhmaṇas' So also *āvibhāva,-tirobhāva* 'manifestation and concealing' in *D.* (i, 78): *assatarī rathā* 'the chariots yoked with mules' (*Vv.* 20, 3, 8) or *piyāppiya* in *Dhp.* (211) may be respectively compared to *āvirbhāva-tirobhavau* in *Chānd.* (7, 26, 1) *aśvatarī-ratham* in *Chānd.* (4, 2, 1; 4; 5, 13, 2) and *priyāpriye spṛśataḥ* also in *Chānd.* (8, 12, 1),

6. Having thus given an indication of the nature of a comparative study of Pali texts with the Vedic texts, I intend to submit in the following pages the results of a comparative study of Pali texts with the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* and *Āpastambha-dharma-sūtra* and mainly the principal Upaniṣads, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Īśa, Kena, Kaṭha, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Kauṣītaki, Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara* and *Praśna*, and occasionally *Māṇḍūkya, Maitrī* and *Jābāla* also. Although scholars like Winternitz[1] and Ranade[2] try to fix the chronology and the mutual chronological relation of the Upaniṣads, by no means it can be said for certain, that a final word is said in that connection. While Winternitz considers the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* as post-Buddhistic, and the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* also to be probably belonging to the same later period, Ranade puts all the Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads (the last in the list given above being excluded) between 1200-600 B. C. (p. 18), although he admits that the *Maitrī Upa.* consists of two different strata, the first four chapters forming an early stratum, and the remaining a very later one (p. 31). Thus it will be seen that we have often to be guided by the internal evidence of the contents of the Upaniṣads only.

7. Humes in his English Translation of the Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads (from which the *Jābāla* given in the list above is excluded) recognises, broadly speaking, the admissibility of the usually assigned date of above 600-500 B. C., though he points out several traces of Pali or Buddhistic tendencies in some dialectical forms like *sarvāvato* (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 9) and forms like *pracchtha* (*Pr.* 1, 2), *āpadyatha* (*Pr.* 2, 3), *jānatha, vimuñcatha* (*Muṇḍ.* 2, 2, 5) after the Imperative second person plural forms in Pali, in support of the form *ācaratha.* (*Muṇḍ* 1, 2, 1), already pointed out by Müller. So also it is pointed out that there is a form like *vipalyeti* or *palyayate* (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 2-6) where *l* is a prakritisation of *r*. There is no doubt that some of the Upaniṣads mentioned above do reveal a Buddhistic influence. For instance, the words *jalapavitra, śikya* in *Jāb.* (6) remind us of Buddhistic *parissāvana* or *dhammakaraka* and *sikkā* in *Vin.* (i, 209, ii, 118; ii 131-132). The latter part of *Maitri Upaniṣad* is full of passages which are certainly post-Buddhistic. The passage in the sixth chapter on *citta* and the mention of advocates

1. *History of Indian Lit.* i. pp. 236.
2. *Constructive Survey of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 12 ff.

of several heretic philosophies in the seventh chapter are unmistakable evidences of their post-Buddhistic character. In the following study, such late passages are only casually referred to or quoted from. Mainly it is based on the Upaniṣads that are pre-Buddhistic.

Proper Names.

8. The practice of giving a name to a person after his mother is found both in the Upaniṣads as well as in Pali Texts. Side by side with *Gārgī-putra*, *Kāṇvī-putra*, *Gautamī-putra* of the Upaniṣads, we have *Sāri-putta*, *Mantānī-putta* etc. in Pali texts. In Pali, this use of *putta* at the end of names is also found in names, which are derived from tribes or clans (cf. *Licchavī-putta*) as well as in names from certain professions such *Hatthi-sāri-putta*, which, by the by, I wonder, if it could be derived from the Vedic word *tsārin*, from √*tsar* 'to creep, crawl'. Below is given a list of names which are identical parallel to each other :—

Aggivessana (*M.* i, 229; 239),	cf. *Āgnivesya* (*Bṛh.* 2, 6, 2; 4, 5, 2)
Ajātasattu (*M.* i, 231 and several places),	cf. *Ajātasatru* (*Bṛh.* 2, 1, 1; 16; *Kau.* 4, 1, 18)
Assalāyana (*M.* ii, 147-157)	cf. *Āsvalāyana* (*Pr.* 1, 1)
Kaccāyana or *Kaccāna* (*M.* ii. 40ff.),	cf. *Kātyāyana* (*Pr.* 1. 1)
Kūlakañjaka, name of an *asura* (*D.* iii. 7; *Jā.* v. 187),	cf. *Kālakhāñjān* (*Kau.* 3, 1)
Khandha (*Dhs. Cm.* 3, 132) as a deity,	cf. *Skandha* (*Chānd.* 7, 26, 2)
Jatukaṇṇi or *Jātakaṇṇi* (*Sn.* 1007; -960198; 1125),	cf. *Jātukarṇya* (*Bṛh.* 2. 6, 2; 4, 5, 3)
Janaka (*Jā.* vi, 30-67),	cf. *Janaka* (*Bṛh.* 2, 1, 1; *Kau.* 4, 1)
Pukkusa (*M.* ii. 183 ; 184),	cf. *Paulkasaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 22)
Pokkharasāti (*D.* i, 103; 235),	cf. *Kaṇva-puṣkarasādi* (*Āp.* 1, 10, 28, 1)
Brahmadatta (in several Jātaka stories),	cf. *Brahmadattaḥ Caikitāneyaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 1, 3, 24)
Bhārdvāja (*D.* i. 235 and *Pr.* 1. 1)	
Vaccha (*M.* i. 481-89),	cf. *Vātsyaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 2, 6, 3)
Sañjīva (*M.* i. 333),	cf. *Sāñjīvī-putraḥ* (*Bṛh.* 6, 5, 2)
Sanankumāra (*D.* i. 99),	cf. *Sanatkumāraḥ* (*Chānd.* 7, 1, 1; 7. 26. 2)
Sibi in Sibi-jātaka, No. 499,	cf. *Śaibyaḥ Satyakāmaḥ* (*Pr.* 5, 1)

Besides, there are several common names of countries found such as *Kuru*, *Pañcāla*, *Kāsī*, *Videha*, *Gāndhāra* etc.

Parallel ideas

9. A comparative study of the Upaniṣads with the Pali texts reveals several passages which have a very close affinity of ideas. In D. i, 99, there is a passage which speaks of the superiority of the Kṣatriyas over the Brāhmaṇas : *khattiyā'va seṭṭhā, hīnā brahmaṇā.* So also the same idea is expressed in a line of verse : *khattiyo'va seṭṭho jane, tasmiṃ ye gotta-paṭsiārino* (*D.* i, 99). In the Upaniṣads, too, there are several passages

which speak of the same superiority, although the Kṣatriyas often reveal that this is something that is unnatural, or out of the way, or against the grain: *pratilomañ caitad yad brahmaṇāḥ kṣatriyam upeyād brahma me vakṣyatī ti* (*Bṛh.* ii, 1, 15; also *Kau.* 4, 18). *Bṛh.* (1, 4, 11) says: *tasmāt kṣatrāt paran nāsti, tasmād brāhamaṇaḥ kṣatriyam adhastād upāste rājasūye.* At another place, in *Bṛh.* (6, 2, 8) a king says to the father of Śvetaketu: *yatheyaṃ vidyetāḥ pūrvaṃ na kasmiṃścana brāhmaṇa uvāsa, tāṃ tvahaṃ tubhyaṃ vakṣyāmi* 'this knowledge has never before stayed with the Brāhmans, but I shall teach the same to you'.

10. Among the different kinds of arts, we have the mention of *vatthu-vijjā, khatta-vijjā...bhūta-vijjā, bhūri-vijjā* (*D.* i, 9), with which may be compared *bhūta-vidyā, kṣatra-vidyā, nakṣatra-vidyā, sarpadevajana-vidyā* .. (*Chānd.* .7, 1, 2). In Buddhist texts, *Vibhanga* 366 and *Vimuttimagga* p. 122, we have three kinds of seeking or *pariyesanā* of *kāma, bhava,* and of *brahmacariya,* with which may be compared *putreṣaṇā, vitteṣaṇā,* and *lokeṣaṇā* (*Bṛh.* 3, 5, 1 ; 4, 4, 22). An ideal person, according to the Buddhists, does not care either for merit, *puṇya,* or demerit, *pāpa*: *puññe ca pāpe ca anūpal itto* (*Sn.* 790), *puñña-pāpa-pahīnassa* (*Dhp.* 39), *yo'dha puññañ ca pāpañ ca ubho sangam upaccagā* (*Sn.* 636). The same idea we have in *Muṇḍ* (3, 1, 3) : *puṇya-pāpe vidhūya,* and in *Bṛh.* 4, 4, 22: *ity ataḥ pāpam akaravam ity ataḥ kalyāṇam akaravam ity ubhe uhaivaiṣa tarati nainaṃ kṛtākṛte tarataḥ.* With this may also be compared *kataṃ mayā kalyāṇaṃ akataṃ mayā pāpaṃ* (*Vin.* iii, 72). In the *Samaññaphala-sutta,* there is a passage giving *Ajita-Kesa-kambali's* view that after death, the different components of the body go to the different elements in the universe: *paṭhavī paṭhavīkāyām anupeti, anupagachati 'tejo'tejokāyaṃ—vāyo vāyo-kāyaṃ...ākāsaṃ indriyāni sankamanti* (*D* i,. 55). A similar idea is found in *Bṛh.* (3, 2, 13) with necessary variations in keeping with the Brahmanical belief in divinities, *puruṣasya mṛtasyāgniṃ vāg apyeti...cakṣur Ādityaṃ..., manaś candraṃ, diśaḥ śrotramākāśam ātmā....* The *Brahmajāla-sutta* refers to early speculations about the origin of this manifold universe: *ekekassa dīgharattaṃ nibbusitattā anabhirati paritassanā uppajjati ...aho vata aññ' pi sattā itthattaṃ āgaccheyyuṃ* (*D.* i, 17) 'that lonely being, tired of his lonely life, had a keen desire that other beings also might come into existence.' Exactly a similar idea we have in *Bṛh.* 1, 4, 3: *sa vai naiva reme, tasmād ekākī na ramate, sa dvitīyam aicchat.*

11. In *Sutta-nipāta,* we often come across the words *diṭṭha-suta* (*Sn.* 790, also *Ud.* vi, 9) or *diṭṭhaṃ, sutaṃ, mutaṃ viññātaṃ* (*Sn.* 1082, 1086), from which the ideal man keeps himself aloof. These expressions were a puzzle to me until I came across the corresponding expressions in the Upaniṣads (*Chānd.* 7, 8, 2; 7, 9, 1; *Bṛh.* 3, 4, 2; 7, 23; 8, 11; *Ai* 5; *Pr.* 4, 9 etc.), where we often have the same words *dṛṣṭam, śrutam, matam, vijñātam* or *draṣṭā, śrotā, mantā, vijñātā, boddhā, kartā* etc., spoken with regard to the soul or *ātmā.* The early Buddhist belief of keeping oneself aloof from all disputes and controversies, including speculations about soul, has been the burden of several *suttas* in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the

Suttanivāta and so naturally the author constantly refers to these expressions spoken about soul. With Pali *na tuyham adiṭṭhaṃ asutāmutam' vā atho aviññātaṃ kiñcanam atthi loke* (*Sn.* 1122) may be compared *no'dya kas' canāśrutam amatam avijñātam udāhariṣyati* of *Chānd.* 6, 4, 5. There is often a reference to the two extremes of philosophical views of *asti* and *nāsti* as in *Ka* 1, 1, 20 : *astītyeke nāyam astī' ti caike.* (*Sn.* 582; 778; 801), refers to these without specifying them but they are mentioned in another Buddhist text in Sanskrit, *Samādhirāja sūtra* (Gilgit Mss. ii, 9, 28), as *astī ti nāstīti ubhepi antā.*

12. The explanation of re-birth after death as given by the early Buddhists is illustrated by the simile of a man, who with the help of a rope suspended from a tree on the bank of a canal jumps from one bank to another and settles there: *mātikātikkamako viya purimañ ca nissayañ jahati, aparañ ca kammasamuṭṭhāpitaṃ nissayaṃ āsādayamānaṃ vā*...(*Vis.* xvii, 163). An exactly similar idea is found in the Upaniṣads where the author gives the simile of a *tṛṇa-jalāyukā*, a leech, that jumps from one blade of grass to another: *tṛṇa-jalāyukā tṛṇasyāntaṃ gatvānyam ākramam ākramya*...(*Bṛh.* 4, 4, 3). Also the simile of the flame of one lamp lighting another is found used in *Vis.* xix, 22.

13. The state of a Buddhist follower who has attained *parinibbāna* or *parinirvāṇa* is such that it passes nomenclature, *yena naṃ vajju taṃ tassa natthi* (*Sn.* 1076). This is the same as *Bṛh.* 2, 4, 12 : *na pretya sanjnā'stī'ty are bravīmi.* About that state you cannot say that there the sun moon or stars shine, or that it is covered with darkness: *na tattha sukkā jotanti*...etc. in *Ud.* i, 10. Is this not the same as *na tatra sūryo bhāti na candratārakaṃ nemā vidyuto bhānti kuto' yamagniḥ* (*Ka.* 2, 2, 15 ; *Muṇḍ* 2, 2, 10 ; *Śve.* 6, 14).

14. When you come to Nirvāṇa, all queries must cease, as it is beyond description. When a householder, Visākha puts a question to the nun, Dhammadinnā about the likeness of Nirvāṇa (*nibbānass ayye kiṃ-paṭibhāgo*), she immediately replies that he is passing into an unquestionable region, and reminds him that he is over-stepping the limits of questioning: *accasarāvuso Visākha pañhaṃ, nāsakkhi pañhānam pariyantaṃ gahetuṃ* (*M.* i, 304). With this may be compared *ati-praśnān pṛcchasi* (*Pr.* 3, 2) spoken by Pippalāda- ācarya in reply to a query about soul, which he considers as an *ati-praśna.* Another passage may also be stated as an instance, when Yājñvalkya snubs Gārgī by saying that she is putting a question, which is beyond questioning. If she would persist, her head will fall down :*mā te mūrdhā vyapatat. Anatipraśnyāṃ vai devatām atipṛcchasi, Gārgi, mā'tiprākṣīḥ* (*Bṛh.* 3, 6, 1). Sometimes in the Upaniṣads, we also come across another way of avoiding such inconvenient questions. In *Bṛh.* (3, 3, 13) in reply to a query *kvāyaṃ tadā puruṣo bhavati*, a more diplomatic or a tactical move is resorted to by Yājñavalkya, who takes the questioner away from the gathering with a friendly warning that it is a matter which they can discuss between themselves alone, and that it is not a matter which

can be talked over in a gathering. *āhara somya hastaṃ...āvām evaitasya vediṣyāvaḥ, na nāvetat sajane.*

15. Reference to a solitary place *suññagāra* (*Dhp.* 374), or to the foot of a tree *rukkhamūla* (*D.* i: 71) in preference to shows and gatherings, *naṭa-samajjādīni*.(*Dhs. Cm.* 3,558) has parallels in *Āp.* 1, 10, 29, 1: *s'ūnyāgāraṃ vṛkṣamūlaṃ vā'bhyupās'rayet* and *Āp.* 1, 1, 3, 12: *sabhāssamājāṃs'cāgantā.* The explanation of the number forty-eight in *aṭṭhacattārīsa vassani brahmacariyañ cariṃsu te* (*Sn.* 289) is found in *Gautama Dharmasūtra* 1, 2, 51-53: *dvādas'a varṣāṇyekavede brahmacaryañ .caret, pratidvādas'a vā sarveṣu, grahaṇāntaṃ vā*, or in *Āp.* 1,1,2,6: *dvādas'a varṣāṇi traividyakaṃ brahmacaryañ caret.* The mention of the thirty-three gods so often referred to in Pali texts without specific enumeration is found in *Bṛh.* 3, 9, 2 as *aṣṭau vasava ekādas'a rudrā dvādas'ādityās te ekatriṃs'at*; *Indras'caiva Prajāpatis' ca*, although *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 8, Trivandrum ed. by Anantakrishna Shastri) replaces Indra by *vaṣaṭkāra* and styles them *somapāḥ* 'drinkers of Soma juice'. The same Brāhmaṇa also gives immediately after, another list of thirty-three, who are called *asomapāḥ* and are to be satisfied by the offering of beasts (*pas'ubhājanāḥ*). This list gives *ekādas'a prayājāḥ, ekādas'a anuyajāḥ* and *ekādas'a upayājāḥ*) which obviously with their association with sacrifices would not be recognised by the Buddhists.

Similes, Metaphors

16. From what has been said above, we should not be surprised if we have a large number of similes and metaphors, also common, or closely similar to one another, in both Pali texts and Upaniṣads. The famous simile of (*andhaveṇī*) blind man in *D.* i, 239 has its counterpart in *Ka.* 1, 2, 5: *andhenaiva nīyamānā yathā'ndhāḥ.* The simile of a mango-fruit following the stem which is cut off in *D.* i, 146 is paralled by *āmraṃ vodumbaraṃ vā pippalaṃ vā bandhanāt pramucyate*.(*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 36). The simile of a naughty horse, *khalunko viya sārathiṃ* in *Thera.* 976, is found also in *S've.* 2, 9: *duṣṭās'vayuktam iva vāham enan.* The looking-glass or mirror, used by every one to see his or her face in it, is found in *M.* i, 100; ii, 19: *yuvvā maṇḍana-jātiko ādāse vā* as well as in *Ka* 2, 3, 5: *yathādars'e*, or in *Bṛh.* 2, 1, 9, or 3, 9, 15: *ādars'e puruṣaḥ.* The spokes inserted in the hub are described in *Jā.* vi, 261: *arā'va nābhyāṃ susamohitāni*, as well as in *Pr.* 2, 6; 6. 6; *Mu.* 2, 2, 6; *arā iva ratha-nābhau.* The tip of the cobbler's awl *ārāgramātraḥ* in *S've* 5, 8 is found in the famous line of *Dhp.* 401: *āragge-r-iva sāsapo.* Taking out *isīkā* blade from *muñja* grass is described in similar words, in *taṃ svāc charīrāt prabṛhen muñjād iveṣīkām Ka.* 2, 3, 17, and in *muñjamho, isikaṃ pavāheyya* (*D.* i. 77). The simile of water fallen on the heights and running down to the low level, *unname udakaṃ vuṭṭhaṃ yathā ninnaṃ pavattati* (*Khu.* vii, 8) is found in *Ka.* 2, 1, 14: *yathodakaṃ durge vṛṣṭaṃparvateṣu vidhāvati.* The simile of a serpent casting off its worn out slough: *urago jiṇṇam iva tacaṃ purāṇaṃ* (*Sn.* 1-17) is found in different words

in *Bṛh.* 4, 4, 7 : (?) *ahinirlvayanī valmīke mṛtā pratyastā śayīta.* The sharpness of a razor-blade is admitted to be a symbol of a life of watchfulness and restraint in : *khuradhārūpamo bhave* (*Sn.* 716) and *kṣurasya dhārā niśitā duratyayā* (*Ka.* 1, 3, 14). Various rivers falling into the sea and losing their individuality are described in almost similar words : *yā kāci mahānadiyo...mahāsamuddan tveva sankhaṃ gacchati* (*Ud.* 5, 5) and in *yathemā nadyaḥ syandamānāḥ...samudra ity eva procyate* (*Pr.* 6, 5 ; also *Mu.* 3, 2, 8) ; *nigrodhasseva khandhajā* has a parallel in *naiyyagrodhaskandhajaḥ* (*Ap. Dharmasūtra* 1, 1, 2, 38). The simile of a drop of water not sticking to a lotus-leaf so often found in Buddhist books : *yathā pokkhāre vāribindu* (*Sn.* 392, also cf. *Sn.* 71, 213, 543, 811-12) or *vāri pokkharapatte'va* (*Dhp.* 401) is also found in *Chānd.* 4, 14, 3 : *yathā puṣkara-palāśe āpo na śliṣyante.* The attachment of a young one for its mother-cow : *vaccho khīrapāko'va mātari* (*Dhp.* 284, *Ud.* vii, 4) is found widened in *Chānd.* 5. 24. 5, where the author speaks of hungry children resorting to their mother : *yatheha kṣudhitā bālā mātaraṃ paryupāsate.*

Parallel Phrases or Expressions

17. There are several closely parallel phrases or expressions, which are found in Pali texts as well as in Upaniṣads. For convenience, they are arranged below in the alphabetical order of Pali expressions :—

attaṃ nir attaṃ na hi tass atthi (*Sn.* 787) The com. explains the first two words as *gahaṇa-muñcana*, taking and leaving, in addition to their technical interpretation.	cf. *idaṃ śarīram āttam mṛtyunā.. ātto vai saśarīraḥ priyāpriyābhyām* (*Chānd* 8, 12, 1) ; *āttāḥ sarve ca kāmāḥ* (ibid. 8, 12, 6).
anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā (*D.* i, 156) cf. *apunarāvattitā Miln.* 276)	cf. *etasmān na punarāvartante* (*Pr.* 1,10. *imam mānavam āvartaṃ na punar āvartante* (*Chānd.* 4, 15, 5 ; also cf. 8, 15, 1)
ahatena vatthena, 'with new cloth' (D. ii, 160)	cf. *ahatena vāsasā* (*Kau.* 2, 10) ; *ahatavāsāḥ* (*Bṛh.* 6, 4, 13)
itihāsa-pañcamānaṃ (*D.* i, 88)	cf. *itihāsapurāṇaṃ pañcamaṃ* (*Chānd.* 7, 2. 1)
uccāvacaṃ gacchati saññasatto (*Sn.* 792)	cf. *uccāvacaṃ nigacchati* (*Bṛh.* 2, 1, 18)
na uccāvacaṃ paṇḍitā dassayanti (*Dhp.* 38)	cf. *uccāvacam īyamānaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 13)
ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsangaṃ karitvā (after *Sn.* 537) 'covering one shoulder with his garment' cf. *ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā* (prose before *Sn.* 343) *ekaṃsam ajinaṃ katvā* (*Sn.* 1027)	cf. *savym aṃsam anvavekṣate pāṇinā antardhāya, vasanāntena vā pracchādya* (*Kau.* 2, 10)

ekāyano maggo (M. i, 63)	cf. *ekāyanaṃ cittam* (Chānd. 7, 5, 2) *sarvāsām apāṃ samudra ekāyamaṃ* (Bṛh. 2, 4, 11)
ehi-bhikkhu-pabbajjā, ehibhikkhubhāva (Sn. cm. 456)	cf. *upaimy ahaṃ bhavantam* (Bṛh. 6, 2, 7)
kāmaṃ kāmayamanassa (Sn. 766)	cf. *kāmaṃ kāmayate* (Mā. 5); *kāmān yaḥ kāmayate* (Mu. 3, 2, 2)
gāthābhigītaṃ me abhojaneyyaṃ (Sn. 81)	cf. *yadannaṃ tad ātmanā gāsīḥ* (Bṛh. 1, 3, 18)
gāmā gāmaṃ puraṃ (Sn. 1'02)	cf. *grāmād grāmaṃ pṛchhan* (Chānd. 6, 14, 2)
guhāsayaṃ, asarīraṃ (Dhp. 37) *satto guhāyaṃ* (Sn. 772)	cf, *guhāśayaḥ* (Sve 3, 11); *guhācaram* (Mu. 2, 2, 1)
pubb'uṭṭhāyī pacchānipātī (D. i. 60)	cf. *pūrvotthāyī* (Gaut. Dharm. 1, 2, 26), *pūrvotthāyī jaghanya-saṃveśī* (Āp. 1, 4, 8)
mā mohayī jānaṃ (Sn. 352-53)	cf. *mā moham āpadyatha* (Pr. 2, 3)
muddhā phalissati, sattadhā (D. i, 94)	cf. *mūrdhā te vipatiṣyati* (Chānd. 1, 8, 6-8 ; 10, 9-11 ; Bṛh 3, 7, 1 ; 9,26), *mūrdhā te vyapatat* (Bṛh. 3, 6, 1)
yatthakāma-nipāti cittaṃ (Dhp. 35-36)	cf. *yathākāmacāraḥ* (Chānd. 7, 1, 5; 3, 2)
yathakāmmam gato (Jā. 109)	cf. *pratyājāyate yathākarma yathāvidyam* (Kau. 1, 2), *yathākarma yathāśṛutam* (Ka. 2, 2, 7)
ābhūpanisā (Dhp. 75); *sambodhigāmīnaṃ kā upanisā* (Sn. 38)	cf. *etadupaniṣado bhaviṣyanti* (Chānd. 8, 8, 4), *asurāṇāṃ hyeṣopaniṣad* (Chānd. 8, 8, 5)
sassatī samā (Jā. iii, 225-56; Vv 63, 14), *sataṃ samaṃ* (Dhp. 106)	cf. *Śāśvatīḥ samāḥ* (Bṛh. 5, 10, 1) cf. *Śāsvatībhyaḥ samābhyaḥ* (Iś 8) *śataṃ samāḥ* (Iś.2)

Parallel verbs

18. Like the parallel phrases and expressions given above, there are several verbs used in a similar sense. Here follows a list of such verbs :—

atichhatha, bhante 'pass on, sir,' said to a mendicant visiting house to house for begging, also *sāmaññattho'ti-acchati* (Thera 936)	cf. *ṛcchati* in *sa svāṃ yonim ṛcchati* (Bṛh. 1, 4, 11)
ārabhanti, samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ uddissa pāṇaṃ (M. i, 368), cf. *pāṇānam ārambho*,; *bīagāma-bhūtagāmasamārambhā* (D. i, 5)	cf. and contrast *anārambhī* (Gau. 13, 24)
abbuyha, tameva sallaṃ (Sn. 934)	cf. *pravṛhya* (Ka. 1, 2, 13)
dhāraye, ratham, bhantaṃ'va (Dhp. 222)	cf. *vidvān mano dhārayetāpramattaḥ* (Śve. 2, 9)

nibbattati, or *nibbatti* (*Jā.* i, 199)	cf. *āṇḍaṃ niravartata* (*Chānd.* 3, 19,1)
paṭibhāti 'it appears to' *maṃ* (following) Sn. 450; *paṭibhanti, dhammā na...maṃ* (*Thera.* 1034)	cf. *na sāmparāyaḥ pratibhāti bālaṃ* (*Ka.* 1, 2, 6)
paccassosi (*D.* i, 236); also *paṭissuṇi*	cf. *pratiśuśrāva* (*Chānd.* 4, 5, 1, 6, 2)
panujja kāme (*Sn.* 359)	cf. *praṇodya* (*Ka.* 1, 1, 18)
parivisati 'serves food' *bhagavantaṃ parivisi* (*D.* ii, 127); also *parivesanā* (*Sn.* 4)	cf. *pariviṣyamāṇau* (*Chānd.* 4, 3, 5) cf. *pariveṣṭrī* (*Kau.* 2, 1)
mahati 'worships', *mahemase* (VvA. 203) *mahito* (*Thera.* 868)	cf. *amahīyanta* (*Ke.* 3, 1). *mahīyadhvam* (*Ke.* 4, 1), *mahayan* (*Chānd.* 8, 8, 4)

Parallel Substantives

19. Now I give a rather long list of substantives which are found to be close parallels. The words are arranged according to Pali alphabetical order:—

akata 'not-created', used for the highest Buddhist ideal of Nirvāṇa : *akataññū* (*Dhp.* 97)	cf. *dhūtvā śarīram akṛtaṃ kṛtātmā Brahmalokam abhisambhavāmi* (*Chānd.* 8, 13, 1); *nāsty akṛtaḥ kṛtena* (*Mu.* 1, 2, 12)
akkodhano 'not angry' (*Sn.* 19	cf. *akrodhanaḥ* (*Āp.* 1, 1, 3, 23)
ajjhattarato 'delighted in self' (*Dhp.* 362)	cf. *ātmakrīḍa ātmarataḥ* (*Mu.* 3, 1, 4)
aññatra 'except' (*Sn.* 29)	cf. *anyatra, anytrāsman manyāsai* (*Bṛh.* 3, 9, 25)
addhā 'certainly' (*Sn.* 47)	cf. *addhā* (*Chānd.* 4, 14, 4; also Maitrī. 1, 1, 1)
anavajja 'blameless' (*Sn.* 47)	cf. *anavadyāni* (*Tai.* 1, 11, 2); *niravadya* (*Śve.* 6, 19)
anusāsana (*A.* i, 292)	cf. *anuśāsana* (*Bṛh.* 2, 5, 9)
antevāsī 'a disciple' (*D.* i, 1)	also in *Tai.* 1, 3, 3, etc.
appamatto 'watchful' Dh. 29;	cf. *apramattas tadā bhavati* (*Ka.* 2, 3, 11); *mano dhārayetāpramattaḥ* (*Sve.* 2, 9)
adyākata 'unexplained' (*M.* i, 431)	cf. *avyākṛta* (*Bṛh.* 1, 4, 7)
abhiṇhaṃ 'constantly' (*Sn.* 335)	cf. *abhīkṣṇam* (*Ke.* 4, 5)
asapattaṃ 'without enmity' (*Sn.* 150)	cf. *asapatnaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 1, 5, 12)
asambādhaṃ 'not crowded, open' (*Sn.* 150)	cf. *asambādha* (*Chānd.* 7, 12, 2)

āma 'yes' (*D.* i, 192 ff), *Miln.* 11, 19, and several places (*āma bhante*). I am inclined to put this word as an equivalent of *om ity agnihotram anujānāti, om iti brāhmaṇaḥ pravakṣyannāha* (*Tai* 1, 8, 1), *kiñ cānujānāty om ity eva* (*Chānd.* 1, 1, 8)

ārammaṇa 'an object on which the mind hangs' (*Sn.* 474, 506, 1064);	cf. and contrast *anārambhaṇa* (*Bṛh.* 3 1, 6; *Chānd.* 2, 9, 4)
indagopa 'a king of worm or insect' (*Thera.* 13);	cf. *indragopaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 2, 3, 6)
uru 'broad, large' (*Miln*, 354);	cf. *urukramaḥ* (*Tai.* 1, 12, 1)
usabha 'a bull' (*Sn.* 2?, 416)	cf. *ṛṣabhaḥ* (*Chānd.* 4, 5, 1)
kata or *kaṭa* 'a kind of die' (*Thera.* 462)	cf. *kṛtāya vijitāya* (*Chānd.* 4, 1, 4)
katākata 'done and not done' (*Dhp.* 50)	cf. *kṛtākṛta* (*Bṛh.* 4, 4, 22)

kathojja 'wordy fight' *Sn.* 825). I am inclined to take this word as coined after the word *brahmodya* 'discussion of Brahma' *Bṛh.* 3, 8, 1)

kammanta, the same as *kamma*, (D. i, 71)	cf. *buddhānta*, and *svapnānta*. (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 16-18)
kudācana 'ever' (*Dhp.* 5 *Sn.* 331)	cf. *kadācana* (*Tai.* 2, 4, 1), *kutaś cana* *Tai*, 2, 2, 1)
kolaṃkelo 'going from life in one *kula* to another' (*A* i, 233 ; *Vis.* 23, 55) ;	cf. *na kulam-kulaḥ syāt* (*Gau.* 1, 9, 52)
khajjopanaka 'fire-fly' (*M.* ii, 34)	cf. *khadyotamātram* (*Chānd.* 6, 7 3-5 ; *Śve.* 2, 11)
khattā 'a servant' (*D.* i, 112)	cf. *kṣattā* (*Chānd.* 4, 1, 7-8)
gītavādita (*D.* i, 5)	cf. *gītavāditra* (*Chānd.* 8, 2, 8)
jighacchā 'hunger' (*M.* i, 13)	cf. and contrast *vijighatsaḥ* (*Chānd.* 8, 1, 5)
jāni 'loss' (*Dhp.* 138)	cf. *jyāni* (*Bṛh.* 1, 5, 15)
duddasa 'difficult to be seen' (*Ud.* viii, 2)	cf. *durdarśam* (*Ka.* 1, 2, 13)
Navadvāraṃ 'the body with nine openings' (*Sn. A.* 298)	cf. also in *Śve.* (3, 18)
nahātaka (*Sn.* 521 ; 646)	cf. *snātaka* (*Jā.* 4).
nahāru '*sinews*' (*Sn.* 194)	cf. *snāvira* (*Iśa.* 8 ; cf *snāvā* (*Tai* (1, 7, 11)
paññāṇaṃ D. 'i, 124 ; *DA.* i, 290)	cf. *prajñānam*, *medhā* (*A.* i, 5, 2)
paṭivissaka 'neighbour' (*M.* i, 126)	cf. *prativeśaḥ* (*Tai.*, (1, 4, 3)
paṇḍara 'white' (*Dhs.* 6; Dhs. *cm.*3,274)	cf. *pāṇḍara* (*Bṛh.* 2, 1, 15 ; *Kau*, 4, 18).
patīto sumano 'rejoicing, glad' (*Dhp.* 68)	cf. *sumanāḥ...pratītaḥ* (*Ka.* 1, 1, 10; 11)
payata 'pure' (*D.* i, 103 ; *Sn.* 242 ;	cf. *prayataḥ śrāddhakāle vā* (*Ka.* 1, 3, 17)
parāyaṇaṃ D. i, 156)	also *Chānd.* (1, 9, 1 ; *Bṛh.* 3, 9, 17 ; 28)
parovarāṇi (*Sn.* 353, 704, 1088)	cf. *parovarīya* (*Chānd.* 2, 7, 1-2)
paḷigha 'a cross-bar' M. i, 139)	cf. *parigha* (*Chānd.* 2, 24, 6; 15)
pāda 'a kind of coin' (*A.* 77)	cf. *daśa daśa pādā ekaikasyāḥ śṛṅgayor ābaddhā babhūvuḥ* (*Bṛh* 3, 1, 1)
pihita (=*apihita*) 'closed' (*M.* i, 118)	cf. *satyasyāpihitam mukham* (*Iśa.* 15)

bhūṇahu 'embryo-killer' (M. i, 503)	cf. *bhrūṇahā* (*Bṛh.* 4, 3, 22)
mahāsala 'Brāhmaṇa' (M. i, 82)	cf. *mahāśālā mahāśrotriyāḥ* (*Chānd*, 5, 11, 1; 3 : 0, 4, 5)
yakkha, *yakkhassa suddhi*, 'purity of the inner spirit' (*Sn.* 478, 875-76)	cf. *yo haitaṃ mahad yakṣaṃ prathamajaṃ veda* (*Bṛh.* 5, 4, 1). See Uni of Ceylon Review, I. ii, 30-32
yogga 'a bullock', (*Vv.* 848)	cf. *prayogy ācaraṇe yuktaḥ* (*Chānd.* 8, 12, 3)
rājañña (M. ii. 152, *D.* i. 103)	cf. *rājanya-bandhuḥ* (*Chānd.* 5, 3, 5; *Bṛh* 6, 2, 3)
lūkha 'dried up, faded' (*Mi.* 77)	and contrast *a-lūkṣāh* (*Tai.* 1, 11, 4)
lokapālā (A. 1. 51; Dhs. cm. 3. 247)	cf. *eṣa lokapāla eṣa lokādhipatiḥ* (*Kau.* 3, 8)
vadaññū 'liberal, generous' (*Sn.* 487)	cf. *vadānyaḥ* (*Bṛḥ.* 6, 2, 7)
vāsa 'cloth' (*hemakappanavāsase*, Jā. vi. 47)	cf. also in *Āp.* 1, 1, 39; *Gau.* 1, 3, 33
vītasoka (*Ud.* viii. 8)	cf. *vītaśokaḥ* *Śve.* 2, 14; 3, 20; 4, 7)
veyyaggha ([-*pañcama*] *Dhp.* 295)	cf. *vaiyāghra* in *vaiyāghrapadya* in *Chānd.* (5, 2, 3; 14, 1; 16, 1)
sakadāgāmī returning once to life' (M. i. 34)	cf. and contrast *a-sakṛdāvartīni* in *Śve.* 4, 7; *Chānd.* 5, 10, 8.
sakkharā 'gravel' (*D.* i. 84)	cf. *śarkarā* (*Śve.* 2, 10)
saccasandho 'a uniformly true speaker' (D. i. 69)	cf. *satyābhisandhaḥ* (*Chānd.* 6, 16, 2)
saddhādeyyāi, (*bhojanāni*, *D.* i. 64-69);	cf. *śraddhādeyo bahudāyī* (*Chānd.* 4, 1, 1)
santhava 'intimacy' (Sn. 844)	cf. perhaps related to *saṃstāvaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 4, 2, 3)
sandeha 'body' (*Thera.* 20. *Dhp.* 148)	cf. *sandehas te vyaśīryat* (*Chānd.* 5, 15, 2)
sapatta 'enemy', (*Thera.* 347; It. 83)	cf. *sa-putnāḥ*, (*Tai* 3, 10, 4)
sampasāda (M. ii. 262)	cf. *samprasādaḥ*. (*Chānd.* 8, 12, 3)

samma, (D. i. 49) 'a term of familiar address'; I am inclined to connect this with *somya*, occurring throughout the Upaniṣads (*Pra.* 4, 7, 10, 11; 6, 2; *Bṛḥ.* 2, 2, 13; *Chānd.* 4. 5. 1 etc.)

sāmāka 'a king of grain' (*Sn.* 239)	cf. *śyāmākād vā* (*Chānd.* 3, 14, 3)
sāvitti, *gāyatrī* (*Sn.* 457, 568)	cf. *sāvitrī* (*Bṛh.* 5, 14, 5)
sobbhu 'a hole, cave, a pit' (*Sn.* 720)	cf. cf. *śvabhram* (*Chānd.* 2, 9, 7)

Style

20. Just as we have discovered similarities in ideas, similes or metaphors, phrases or expressions, and a large range of vocabulary, so we also notice similarity in style. The Pali texts are full of repetitions. We often find that a person when he reports a conversation between two other persons will, *ad nauseum*, repeat the whole conversation (with all its details) as it originally took place. So also if a certain statement or a very similar statement is to be made with regard to each of the constituents of a group like the five senses, then what is said with regard to the first constituent will be repeated, *in toto*, or with requisite variations, with regard to all the remaining constituents. This same style is found employed in the Upaniṣads (also in the Brāhmaṇas). In *Chānd.* 4, 4, 4 for instance, Satyakāma Jābāla reports to Hāridrumata Gautama the whole of the conversation with his mother, word for word. In *Tai* 2, 8; *A.* i, 3, 3; *Chānd.* 3, 6, 1-3; 9, 4; *Bṛh.* 1, 3, 1; 3, 7; 2, 1, 2; 13; 2, 5, 1; 15, we have repetition exactly of the type followed in Pali.

21. We find in Pali texts several passages, which apparently are riddles or paradoxes, but which give a satisfactorily good sense after understanding the implied meaning in the figurative or symbolical speech. For instance,

channaṃ ativassati, vivaṭaṃ nātivassati
tasmā channaṃ vivaretha, evaṃ taṃ nātivassati

"It rains heavily if the house is covered (with a roof); if the house is laid bare, it will not rain heavily. Therefore, open up what is covered, so that it will not rain heavily'. Or, the following :—

ahu pubbe tadā nāhu, pubbe tadā ahu (*Ud.* vi, 3)

'Whatever existed formerly has ceased to exist then; (and) whatever did not exist before had come into existence then'. On the same lines, we are inclined to put the following :—

nāhaṃ manye suvedeti no na vedeti veda ca.
or, *yasyāmataṃ mataṃ tasya mataṃ yasya na veda saḥ*
avijñātaṃ vijānatāṃ vijñātam avijānatām (Ke. 2, 2-3)

22. The questions put by six young men to Pippalāda in *Praśnopaniṣad* may be considered to be an exact parallel to the questions put by the sixteen disciples of Bāvarī, in the last division of the *Suttanipāta*, while to the questions put by young disciples to Brāhmaṇa teachers like Yājñavalkya (*Bṛh.* chap. 3) or to Kṣatriya kings like Ajātaśatru (*Bṛh.* 2, 1, 14), or those put by king Janaka (*Bṛh.*, 4th chap.) scattered all over the Upaniṣads, may be compared with the questions of the various disciples approaching the Buddha and putting all sorts of questions to him.

23. The Upaniṣads, like the Pāli texts, are a curious mixture of prose and poetry, the verse being often introduced by expressions, like

tadeṣa śloko bhavati (*Bṛh.* 2, 2, 3; 4, 4, 7) *tadete ślokā bhavanti* (*Bṛh.* 4, 4, 8); or by *tadetad ṛcābhyuktam* (*Bṛh.* 4, 4, 23). In Pali, too, we find the prose followed by verses introduced by *gāthāya ajjhabhāsi* (*Sn.* 4th sutta); *imā-gāthāyo ábhāsi* (S. 1, 154) ; or *athāparam etad avoca satthā* (*A.* iii., 34, S, i, 69, 152); or by *vuttaṃ h'etaṃ* (*Vis.* 18, 26).

24. Another peculiarity that is common to this earlier literature is to indulge in etymological interpretations, often fanciful or merely popular. For instance, *Gāyatrī* is explained as *sarvaṃ bhūtaṃ gāyati ca trāyate ca* (*Chānd.* 3, 12, 1), *hṛdaya* as *hṛdi ayaṃ* (*Chānd.* 8, 3, 3), *arṇava* as *araś ca, ṇyaś ca* or *arañ ca ṇyañ ca* (*Bṛh.* 8, 5, 3-4), or *puruṣa* as *sarvāsu pūrṣu... puriśayaḥ* (*Bṛh.* 2, 5, 18). The same sort of tendency is exhibited in the fanciful interpretation of *arahā* as *ārakattā* (*M.* 280), *arānaṃ* or *arīnaṃ hatattā, ara-hā*, or *pāpakaraṇe rahābhāvato* (*a-rahā* M. *cm.* i. 52; *Vis.* vii, 5-25; *Smp.* i, 112); or of *bhagavā* (*Vis.* vii, 53-64, *Smp.* i, 122-124); or of *samaṇa* as *samacariyā samaṇo ti* (*Dhp.* 3880), or as *samitaitā hi pāpānaṃ* (*Dhp.* 265), or as *samitāvi pahāya puñña-pāpaṃ* (*Sn.* 520); or of *Brāhmaṇa* as *bāhitapāpo ti* (*Dhp.* 388), or as *bāhetvā sabba-pāpāni* (*Sn.* 519), or as *bāhetvā sabba-pāpake dhamme* (*Ud.* i, 5); or of *pabbajita* as *pabbājayam attano malam.*

25. This sort of interpretation of applying an ethical sense leads to the Buddhist method of what is often described as putting new wine into old bottles. The Buddhists often accept old Brahmanical terms, like *traividya, sāvitrī, śrotriya, snātaka, kṣetra, nāga, madhyadeśa* but interpret them in their own sense. For instance, the term *traividya* is interpreted by them as meaning one who has a divine eye, a divine ear, and who has destroyed all depravities. The Buddhist mantra of Sāvitrī is *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. Sanghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* 'I take refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha (Buddhist community)'. Their *Madhyadeśa* is not the country (Doab) between the Ganges and Jumunā, but the country which roughly speaking corresponds to the eastern part of the modern U. P. and western part of modern Behar (*Vin* i, 197 : *Jā* i, 49). The *Sabhiyá-suttá* (No. 32) of the *Suttanipāta* gives the Buddhist ethical interpretation of several terms like *snātaka, śrotriyá* etc.

Irregularities of Grammar

26. What appear to be cases of grammar-irregularities are found both in the Upaniṣads and in Pāli texts. What is styled as *linga-viparyaya* 'change of grammatical gender', is found in both kinds of texts. For instance, in *Ka*, 1, 1, *ā*: *vaiśvanaraḥ praviśaty atithir brāhamaṇo gṛhān,* has a parallel instance in *anuṭṭhāna-malā gharā* (*Dhp.* 241), where the word *gṛha* or *ghara* is put in the masculine form. Other instances of the same type are *pabbatāni vanāni ca* (*Dhp.* 188), *taṃ bhūmiṃ rāmaṇeyyakaṃ* (*Dhp.* 98). In what may be called a later stratum of the *Maitrī Upaniṣad,* (6, 21; 7, 1) we have examples of *labhati* and *īkṣanti* instead of *lábhate* and *īkṣante*. This distinction between Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada is, as is well known,

not observed in Pali, where every verb can have both the forms of Parasmaipada as well as of Ātmanepada. In *Śve.* 1, 9, we have *vindate brahmam etat*, where the word *brahman* is treated as if it ends in *a*. Another example is found in *Maitrī Upaniṣad* 7, 10 (which, by the by, may lead one to suspect the genuineness of antiquity of that portion of the Upaniṣad), where we have *namaskṛtvocuḥ*. This form *namaskṛtvā* is used instead of *namaskṛtya*. In Pali, this sort of freedom is given, where we have the form *upagantvā* as well as *upagamma*, *uṭṭhāya* as well as *uṭṭhahitvā*. Another Vedic peculiarity is seen in *Parame vyoman*. (*Tai.* 2, 1, 1), *dakṣiṇe akṣan puruṣaḥ* (*Bṛh* 4, 2, 2; 5, 5, 2; 4, *Kau.* 4, 16), *savye akṣan puruṣaḥ* (*Kau.* 4, 17), where the forms *vyoman* or *akṣan* stand for *vyomni* or *akṣani* Actually in *Bṛh.* 4, 2, 3, we do get *vāme akṣaṇi*. With this may be compared the Pali irregularities in *pañcasu updānakkhandhesu sati* (*Vis.* xviii. 28), *abhijjhā-domanassā pāpakā ākusalā dhammā anvāssaveyyuṃ, tassa saṃvarāya paṭipajjati* (*M.* i. 180), *tayo upṭṭhāne kusalatā* (*Paṭi*).

Conclusion

27. On the lines followed in this paper, a comparative study of Pali texts with the Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Sūtras may be carried on with fruitful results. There are several words in Pali which are used in their Vedic sense, like *tejana*, *yāgu* (*yavāgu*), *bhesajja* (*bheṣaja*), *kevaṭṭa kevarta*), *bīraṇa*), (*vīraṇa*), *sarāva* (*śarāva*), *petā* (*preta*) etc. There are several proper names common to both literatures like *Tārukkha* (*Tārukṣya*) *Vepacitti* (*Vipracitti* or *Viprajitti*), *Poṭṭhapāda* (*Proṣṭhapāda*) etc. Verse like *assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ sammāpāsaṃ vājapeyyaṃ niraggalaṃ* (*Sn.* 303) can be explained only by the sacrificial literature of the Brāhmaṇas. I shall be satisfied if this paper gives an indication to some young scholar inclined to pursue such comparative study. Attempts like this can alone explain properly several Pali words. Dr. Coomaraswamy has explained in the article referred to at the beginning of this paper how, to mention only a few instances, the interpretations of Pali words *tejana*, *thūpa*, *samala* can be correctly given only by having in mind the background of these words in earlier literature. I am also glad to notice some papers on *Yakṣa*, *Gandharva* and *Indra* by Prof. O. H. de A. Wijesekera and his former pupil, Charles Godage, in the University of Ceylon Review, vol.1,No,2(Nov. 1943),pp. 24-33, and vol. III (April 1945) pp. 41-107, which deserve a careful perusal by all students of comparative study of Brahmanical and Buddhist literature.

Behaviour of Consonants in Sinhalese

BY

D. E. HETTIARATCHI, *Ceylon.*

Prof. Wilhelm Geiger has given, in his Grammar of the Sinhalese Language, a fair account of the Consonantism in Sinhalese. There he has pointed out the various changes of consonants that have taken place at different stages during the development of Sinhalese viz. during (1) the Prakrit period, i.e. from about 200 B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D., (2) the Proto-Sinhalese period, i.e. from the 4th or 5th century to the 8th century A. D. and (3) the Sinhalese period, i.e. from about the 8th century downwards.

In the following pages I shall confine myself solely to a study of the changes that the Old and Middle Indian consonants have undergone in coming into actual Sinhalese, i. e. after the language had passed its formative period. To make a few general observations :—

1. At the beginning of a word, a single consonant is generally retained with the following exceptions :—

   The palatals may undergo further changes; *y* or *v* may be reduced by *samprasāraṇa* ; *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* or *h* may drop off.

   If a word forms the second member of a compound, or if a prefix precedes it, the initial consonant of that word may behave as if it were medial.

2. The consonants *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* and *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, when they are single and intervocalic, generally drop off. But sometimes they are retained. The three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* first become dental *s*, and that s and also *y*, *v*, *h* may either disappear or be retained.

3. The double consonants in Old or Middle Indian become single in coming into Sinhalese, either through loss of one consonant or through *svara-bhakti*. A nasal before a voiced mute is often retained as a half-nasal.

4. All aspirates lose their aspiration quite early. Sometimes an aspirate is retained in Old Sinhalese, but that too disappears in course of time. Not infrequently an aspirated consonant is split up into the mute and the aspirate.

K The initial *k* is retained, e.g. Sk. *kanaka-* > *kana* 'gold' ; Sk. P. *kavāṭa-* > *kavuḷu* 'window.'

The intervocalic *k* is sometimes retained, but more often it is dropped, e.g. Sk. P. *ākara-* > *akara* 'mine' ; Sk. *ākīrṇa-*, P. *ākiṇṇa-* > *akin* 'crowded' ; P. *gandha-kuṭi-* > *gaňda-kiḷi* 'the perfumed chamber'; P. *tāvakālika-* > *tavukäli* 'temporary' ; Sk. P. *sakala-* > *siyal* 'all, entire' ; Sk. P. *dukūla-* > *diyul, duhul, dūl* 'fine garment, thin fabric'; Sk. *śakunta-*, P. *sakunta-* >

siyot 'bird'; Sk. P. *divākara-* > *divayuru* '*sun*'; Sk. *daṇḍa(ka)- karman-* > *dan̆ḍuvam* 'punishment.'

An intervocalic *k* is occasionally voiced, e.g. Sk. P. *phalaka-* > *palaga* 'plank, shield'; Sk. *akaniṣṭhaka-*, P. *akaniṭṭhaka-* > *aganiṭā* 'lit. not the lowest, highest, name of a Brāhma world.'

To express, in short, the more important changes of double consonants in both Old and Middle Indian :—

kk (mostly of MI.) > *k*, e. g. P. *vikkama-* (=Sk. *vikrama-*) > *viku* 'prowess'; P. *okkāka-* (=Sk. *ikṣvāku-*) > *okā* 'name of a dynasty'.

kkh (MI.) > *kh* in old Sinhalese, and later *k*, e. g. P. *vikkhepa-* (Sk. *vikṣepa-*) > *vikhevu*, *vikev* 'confusion, perplexity'; P. *sikkhā-* (Sk. *śikṣā-*) > *sikha*, *sika* 'precept.'

kt > *tt* > *t* : Sk. *vyakta-*, P. *viyatta-* > *viyat* 'learned'; Sk. *ukta-*, P. *utta-* > *utu, ut* 'stated.'

ktr > *tt* > *t* : Sk. *vaktra-*, P. *vatta-* > *vata* 'face.'

kr > *kk* > *k* : Sk. *upakrama-*, P. *upakkama-* > *uvakum* 'device'; Sk. *krīḍā* > *kiḍa-*, *kiḍu*, *keḷi* (?) 'sport.'

kṣ > *kkh* > *kh, k* as above.

kṣ may disappear, if it becomes *kh* in Middle-Indian, e. g., Sk. *upekṣā-* > P. *upekkhā-*, *upekhā-* > *upeyi*, *upē* 'equanimity'; Sk. *lākṣā-*, P. *lākhā-* > *lā* 'red lac.'

kṣ > *cch* > *s* : Sk. *dakṣa-* > *das* 'clever'; Sk. *kṣapaṇaka-* > *sapaṇa* 'a mendicant.'

Certain words preserve both the developments *k* and *s* of Sk. *kṣ*, e. g. Sk. *akṣi-*, *akṣa-*, P. *akkhi-*, *achhi-* > *ak*, *äs* 'eye'; Sk. *kṣamā-*, P. *khamā-* > *kamā, samā* 'forbearance'; Sk. *kṣaṇa-*, P. *khaṇa-*, *chaṇa-* > *kaṇa* 'moment'; *säṇa* 'festival'; Sk. *kṣema-* > *kem, sem* 'safe, secure'; Sk. *pratikṣepa-* > *piḷikev piḷisev* 'rejecting, contradiction'; Sk. *makṣika, kā-* > *mäki*, *mäsi* 'fly'.

Kh The initial *kh,* usually of Middle-Indian, is retained in Old Sinhalese; later it loses its aspiration; sometimes it is deaspirated and voiced, e.g. P. *khandha-* (=Sk. *skandha-*) > *khan̆du* (pl.), *kan̆da* 'group, aggregate'; P. *khīṇa-* (=Sk. *kṣīṇa-*) > *khiṇu*, *guṇu* 'wasted, destroyed'; Sk. *khaḍga-*, P. *khagga-* > *kaga* 'sword'; Sk. P. *khaṇḍa-* > *kaḍa* 'portion'; Sk. *khadyota-*, P. *khajjota-* > *kadō* 'fire-fly'; P. *khepeti* (=Sk. *kṣapayati* [?]) > *gevayi*(?) 'passes, wastes.'

The single intervocalic *kh* usually drops off in the inherited words. But occasionally it is deaspirated, and sometimes also voiced, with or without nasalization. In a few instances *kh* loses its mute, and the aspirate remains, e. g. Sk. P. *mekhalā-* > *mevul* 'girdle'; Sk- P. *parikhā-* > *piri* 'moat'; Sk. P. *nakha-* > *niya* 'nail'; Sk. *śikhin-*, P. *sikhi-* > *siki* 'peacock'; Sk. *akhila-* > *akila* '*complete*, whole'; Sk. P. *mukhara-* > *mukara* 'garrulous'; Sk. *vaiśākha-*, P. *vesākha-* > *vesan̆ga* 'name of a month'; Sk. *śikhā-* > *sin̆gā*

'crest'; P. *tikhiṇa-* (=Sk. *tīkṣṇa-*) > *tihiṇi* 'sharp'; P. *sukhumāla-* (=Sk. *sukumāra-*) > *suhuṁbul* 'tender, delicate.'

khy > *kh* (early), *k+h*, *k* : Sk. P. *vyākhyāna-* > *viyakhän*, *viyak'han*, *viyakän* 'commentary, commenting on.'

g The initial *g* is retained, e. g. Sk. *garbha-* P., *gabbha-* > *gaba* 'womb'; Sk. *gātra-*, P. *gatta-* > *gat* 'body.'

The intervocalic *g* most often disappears; but sometimes it may be retained, especially in semi-loan forms, e. g. Sk. P. *nagara-* > *nuvara* 'city'; Sk. P. *sāgara-* > *sayuru* 'ocean'; Sk. P. *āgantuka-* > *avutu*, *amutu* 'stranger'; Sk. P. *viyoga-* > *viyō* 'separation'; Sk. *pratigṛhṇāti* P. *paṭigaṇāti-* > *piḷigaṇī* 'accepts'; Sk. *hasti-gopaka-*, P. *hatthi-gopaka-* > *ät-govu* 'mahout'.

gg (usually of MI.) > g, *ṅg*, e. g. P. *khagga-* (=Sk. *khaḍga-* > *kaga* 'sword'; P. *muggara-* (=Sk. *mudgara-*) > *mugura* 'rod'; P. *samugga-* (=Sk. *samudga-*) > *sumuṅga* 'casket'; P. *magga* (=Sk. *mārga-*) > *maga, maṅga* 'way'.

gh The initial *gh* loses its aspiration, e. g. Sk. *gharṣa-* > gasa 'rubbing, friction'; Sk. P. *ghana-* > *gana* 'thick.'

The intervocalic *gh* is preserved in Old Sinhalese, but later it is deaspirated and retained with or without nasalization. Most often *gh* drops off medially, e. g. Sk. *pratigha-*, P. *paṭigha-* > *piḷighu* 'anger'; Sk. P. *āghāta-* > *aghā*, *agā* 'hatred'; Sk. P. *agha-* > *aga* 'sin'; Sk. *buddha-ghoṣa-* > *budu-gos* 'name of a Thera'; Sk. P. *nidāgha-* > *niyaṅga* 'drought'; Sk. P. *jaghana-* > *duvan* 'buttock'; Sk. P. *megha-* > *mē* 'cloud.'

ṅ occurs only in combination with another consonant.

ṅk > *k*, e. g. Sk. P. *kuṅkuma-* > *kokum* 'saffron'; Sk. *aṅkuśa-*, P. *aṅkusa* > *akusu* 'hook'; Sk. *śaśāṅka*, P. *sasaṅk-* > *sasak* 'moon.'

Rarely *ṅk* > *g*, *ṅg*, *ṃ*, e. g. Sk. *paryaṅka-*, P. *pallaṅka-* > *palaga*, *palaṅga* 'sitting cross-legged or upon the hams'; P. *suṅk-* (= Sk. *śulka-*), Pk. *suṅga-* > *suṃ* 'tax.'

ṅkt > *nt* > *t*, e. g., Sk. *paṅkti-*, P. *panti-* > *pet* (?) 'row'.

ṅkh (MI.) > *kh* (early), *k*, e. g. P. *saṅkhepa-* (= Sk. *saṃkṣepa-*) > *sakhev*, *sakev* 'summary'; P. *saṅkhāra-* (= Sk. *saṃskāra-*) > *sakhara*, *sakara* 'constituent, synergies (*sic.*)'; Sk. *śṛṅkhali(kā)*, P. *saṅkhalikā-* > *häkili* 'fetter.'

c The *c* of Old and Middle Indian has had a peculiar development in Sinhalese. Although *c* is come across in Prakritic Sinhalese, in Sinhalese proper, it can hardly be found, excepting in loan-words, with a few rare exceptions like: Sk. P. *cumbati*, > *siṁbī*, *hiṁbi*, *iṁbī* 'kisses', *c* never drops off even medially, unlike in Prakrit and in certain modern Indo-Aryan languages.

The initial c changes to *s*, e. g. Sk. P. *candana-* > *saṅdun* 'sandal'; Sk. P. *campaka-* > *sapu*; Sk. P. *cora-* > *sora* 'thief.'

The intervocalic *c* has a twofold development. It either changes to *s*, or becomes *j* early, and then changes to *d* later, e.g. Sk. *vicitra-* > *visit*, *visitruu* 'variegated, beautiful'; Sk. *śocati* > *sosī* 'mourns, grieves'; Sk.

vicakṣaṇa- > *visakuṇu* 'discerning'; Sk. P. *vacana-* > *vajan*, *vadan* 'utterance, word'; Sk. P. *gocara-* > *gojuru*, *goduru* 'pasture, prey, range'; Sk. *kavaca-* > *kavaja*, *kavada*, *kavasa* 'armour'; P. *acelaka-* > *ajelu* 'naked'; Sk. P. *sūcī-* > *hiji*, *hidi* 'needle.'

cc ((MI.) > *s*, e. g., P. *sacca-* (= Sk. *satya-*) > *sas* 'truth'; P. *anicca-* (= Sk. *anitya-*) > *anis* 'impermanent.'

ch Initial *ch* generally becomes *s*. Sometimes it may change further to *h*, e. g. Sk. *chatra-*, P. *chatta-* > *sat* 'umbrella'; Sk. *chidra-*, P. *chidda-* > *sida* 'opening, hole'; Sk. P. *channa-* > *san* 'covered'; Sk. P. *chadana-* > *siyana*, *sēna* 'roof; P. *chāta-* (=Sk. *psāta-*) > *sā*, *hā* 'hungry.'

cch, occurring usually medially changes to *s* but in a few instances, *cch* seems to have given rise to *j* and laterly *d* or *n̆d*, e. g. Sk. P. *samuccheda-* > *sumusē* 'extermination'; Sk. *paripṛcchā-*, P. *paripucchā-* > *piripus* 'questioning'; Sk. P. *icchati*, Pk. *icchai* > *isī* 'desires, wishes'; P. *pacchima-* (=Sk. *paścima-*) > *päsim*, *päsum* 'western'; Sk. *ucchiṣṭa-*, P. *ucchiṭṭha-* > **ūciṭṭha* (?) > **ujiṭu* > *ujul*, *in̆jul*, *in̆dul* 'left over (after a meal), remaining (crumbs of food)'; Sk. *akṛcchra-*, P. *akiccha-* > *akij* 'not difficult'; P. *saṃvacchara-* (=Sk. *saṃvatsara-*) > *havaraja*, (Epz III P. 251[3]) *havuruju*, *havurudu*, *avurudu* 'year.'

j Initial *j* is retained in Old Sinhalese, but later it changes to *d*, e. g. Sk. *jatru-*, P. *jattu-* > *jat* 'collar-bone, shoulder'; Sk. P. *jāti-* > *jäya*, *däya* 'birth', Sk. *janayitrī-*, P. *janettī-* > *diniti* 'mother'; Sk. P. *jarā-* > dara 'decay'; Sk. *jyā-*, P. *jiyā-* > *diya* 'bow-string.'

The medial *j* is retained in Old Sinhalese, and sometimes also later. But generally it changes to *d* in the inherited words, e. g. Sk. P. *bhojana-* > *bojun*, *bodun* 'food'; Sk. P. *lāja-* > *laja*, *lada* 'fried grain'; P. *pārājikā* > *pariji*, *paradi* 'a grave transgression according to Vinaya'; Sk. P. *bhuja-* > *buja* 'arm'; Sk. P. *rāja-* > *raja*, *rada* 'king'; Sk. *vījana-*, *vyajana-*, P. *vījanī* > *vijini* 'fan'; Sk. *dhvaja-*, P. *dhaja-* > *dada* 'flag'; Sk. P. *bhājana-* > *badun* 'vessel'.

jj > *j* (early), *d*, *n̆d*, e. g. P. *pāmojja-* (=Sk. *prāmodya-*) > *pāmoja* 'excessive joy'; P. *bhesajja-* (=Sk. *bhaiṣajya-*) > *behaja*, *beheja*, *beheda* 'medicine'; P. *ajja-* (=Sk. *adya*)- > *aja*, *ada* 'to-day'; P. *paṭipajjati* (=Sk. *pratipadyate*) > *piḷipadī* 'practises'; P. *bhijjati* (=Sk. *bhidyate*) > *bin̆deyi* 'is broken, gets broken'.

jh The initial as well as medial *jh* is either retained, or becomes *j* in Old Sinhalese; later it becomes *d* or *d*+*h*, e. g. P. *jhāma-* (=Sk. *kṣāma-*) > *jham*, *jam*, *dam* 'scorched, burnt'; P. *jhāna-* (=Sk. *dhyāna-*) > *jhan*, *dahan* 'meditation'; P. *pādaka-jjhāna-* > *pa-jhan* 'meditation, forming a basis for further introspective development'.

jjh > *jh* > *j*, *d*, *d+h*, e. g. P. *majjha-* (=Sk. *madhya-*) > *mäda* 'middle'; P. *pabujjhati* (= Sk. *prabudhyate*) > *pubudī* 'wakes up'; P. *majjhatta-* > *mäjahat*, *mädahat* 'indifferent, neutral'; P. *ajjhāsaya-* > *adahasa* 'intention.'

ñ is retained in Old Sinhalese, and later it becomes *n*, e. g. P. *ñāṇa-*, (= Sk. *jnāna*)- > *ñaṇa näṇa*, 'wisdom'.

ñc > *s*, e. g. Sk. *kāñcana-*, P. *kañcana-* > *ṛkasana* 'gold'; Sk. P. *cañcala-* > *sasala* 'unsteady'; Sk. P. *lañcā-* > *las* 'present, bribe'.

ñj > *j*, *n̆j*, *d*, *n̆d*, e. g. Sk. P. *añjali-* > *än̆jili*, *än̆dili* 'hands clasped in salutation'; Sk. P. *pañjara-* > *pan̆jara*, *an̆dura* 'cage'; P. *bhuñjati* > *budī* 'eats'; Sk. *mañjūṣā-*, P. *mañjūsā-* > *madosa* 'box, chest'; Sk. P. *sañjānāti* > *han̆dunayi*, *an̆dunayi* 'recognizes'; Sk. P. *kuñjara-* > *kojuru*, *kon̆duru* 'elephant'.

ññ > *n*, e. g. P. *paṭiññā-* (=Sk. *pratijñā-*) > *pilina* 'pledge, promise'; P. *puñña-* (=Sk. *puṇya-*) > *pin* 'merit'; P. *paññā-* (= Sk. *prajñā-*) > *päna* 'wisdom'; P. *viññāna-* (= Sk. *vijñāna-*) > *vinäṇa* 'consciousness.'

ṭ Initial *ṭ* may be retained. But the words beginning with *ṭ* are very rare. Medial *ṭ* most often becomes *ḷ*; sometimes it may further change to *ṇ*. Occasionally it is preserved, or is voiced, especially in semi-loan forms, e. g. Sk. P. *kavāṭa-* > *kavulu* 'window'; Sk. P. *kūṭa-* > *kulu* 'top, summit'; P. *paṭipakkha-* (=Sk. *pratipakṣa-*) > *piḷivak* 'opposed, hostile'; Sk. P. *aṅkoṭa-* > *an̆guṇa* 'name of a plant'; P. *paṭicca* (=Sk. *pratītya*) > *piṇisa* 'on account of'; P. *sampaṭicchati* > *sapiṇisayi* 'receives, accepts'; P. *paṭicchāpeti* > *puṇusvayi* 'gives, entrusts'; P. *vyāvaṭa-* (=Sk. *vyāpṛta-*) > *vävaṭa*, *viyavuḷu* 'busy with, intent on'; Sk. *utpāṭayati*, P. *uppāṭeti* > *upuṭayi* 'roots out, removes'; Sk. P. *lāṭa-* > *lāḍa* 'name of a country'; Sk. *karṇāṭa-* > *kannaḍi* 'Kanarese'; Sk. P. *aṭavi-* > *aḍavi* 'forest.'

ṭṭ > *ṭ*, and rarely *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. P. *attāla(ka-)* > *aṭalu* 'upper storey, watch-tower'; Sk. P. *paṭṭa-* > *paṭa* 'woven silk, fine cloth'; P. *vaṭṭa-* (= Sk. *vṛtta-*) > *vaṭa* 'cycle'; P. *kevaṭṭa* (= Sk. *kaivarta-*) > *kevuḷu*, *kevul* 'fisherman.'

ṭṭh (MI.) > *ṭh* (early), *ṭ*, *ṭ+h*, *ḷ*. rarely, e. g. P. *upaṭṭhāna* (= Sk. *upasthāna-*) > *uvaṭhan*, *uvaṭan*, *vaṭan* 'attendance ministering to'; P. *pariyuṭṭhāna-* > *piriyuṭhan* 'outburst'; P. *aṭṭhārasa-* (=Sk. *aṣṭādaśa-*) > *aṭara* 'eighteen'; P. *pāpiṭṭha-* (=Sk. *pāpiṣṭha-*) > *paviṭu* 'most sinful, worst'; P. *paluṭṭha-* (= Sk *pluṣṭa-*) > *puluṭu* 'burnt'; P. *uṭṭhāya* (= Sk. *utthāya*) > *uṭ'hay* 'having risen up'; P. *micchā-diṭṭhi-* (= Sk. *mithyā-dṛṣṭi-*, > *misa-diṭ'ha* 'wrong views'; P. *vuṭṭhāna-* (= Sk. *vyutthāna-*) > *vuṭuhan* 'rising out, emergence'; P. *iṭṭhaka-* (= Sk. *iṣṭaka-*) > **iṭhaka* > **iḷu-* > *uḷu* 'bricks tiles'; P. *ucchiṭṭha-* (=Sk. *ucchiṣṭa-*) > **ūciṭṭha* > **ūjiṭu* > *ujul*, *in̆jul*, *in̆dul* 'remaining crumbs of a meal'; P. *kuṭṭhi-* (= Sk. *kuṣṭhin-*) > *kiḷi* 'leper'; P. *kaviṭṭha-* (=Sk. *kapittha-*) > *givuḷu*, *givul* 'the elephant-apple tree.'

ṭh like *ṭ*, is extremely rare in an initial position. Intervocalic *ṭh* changes in Sinhalese to *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. *śaṭha-*, P. *saṭha-* > *saḷa* 'crafty, fraudulent;'

Sk. *nakṣatra-pāṭhaka-*, P. *nakkhatta-pāṭhaka-* > *nakat-palu* 'one who reads or interpretes stars, astrologer'; P. *paṭhama-* (= Sk. *prathama-*) > *pḷlamu* 'first'.

ḍ is retained at the beginning of a word, e. g. Sk. *ḍākinī-* > *dävini* 'demoness'; Sk. *ḍamaru-* > *ḍamuru* 'a small drum.' The intervocalic *ḍ* changes to *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. *vaḍavā-* > *vaḷaba* 'mare'; Sk. P. *uḍu-* > *uḷu* 'star'; Sk. *vrīḍā-* > *viḷi* 'shame, bashfulness.'

ḍḍh > ḍ, e. g. P. *vaḍḍhi-* (= Sk. *vṛddhi-*) > *väḍa* 'growth, interest'; P. *aḍḍha-* (= Sk. *ardha-*) > *aḍa* 'half.'

ḍh when intervocalic, changes to *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. *dṛḍha-*, P. *daḷha-* > *daḷa* 'firm'; Sk. *mūḍha-* > *muḷu* 'infatuated'; Sk. *gūḍha*, P. *gūḷha* > *guḷu* 'hidden' concealed.'

ṇ Words beginning with *ṇ* are rare. In a medial position *ṇ* is generally retained. Sometimes it is changed to *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. P. *caraṇa-* > *saraṇa* 'foot'; Sk. P. *maṇi-* > *miṇi*; Sk. P. *ābharaṇa-* > *abaraṇa*, *baraṇa* 'ornament'; Sk. P. *rāvaṇa-* > *ravuḷu* 'name of a king'; Sk. *garbhiṇī-*, P. *gabbhiṇī-* > *gäm̆biḷi* 'pregnant woman'; Sk. P. *vāṇija-* > *veṇen̆da*, *veḷen̆da*, *veḷan̆da* 'merchant.'

ṇṭ > *ṭ*, e. g. Sk. P. *kaṇṭaka-* > *kaṭu* 'thorn'; P. *tāla-vaṇṭa-*, Pk. *tāla-veṇṭa* (= Sk. *tāla-vṛnta-*) > *tal-väṭa* 'fan, palm-leaf fan.'

ṇṭh > *ṭh* (early), *ṭ+h*, *ṭ*, e. g. P. *saṇṭhāna-* (= Sk. *saṃsthāna-*) > *saṭhan*, *saṭahan* 'figure, shape'; Sk. P. *kaṇṭha-* > *kaṭa* 'throat'; P. *gaṇṭhi-* (= Sk. *granthi-*) > *gäṭa* 'knot.'

ṇḍ > *ḍ*, *n̆ḍ*, e. g. Sk. P. *daṇḍa-* > *daḍa* 'punishment, fine'; Sk. P. *tuṇḍa-* > *tuḍa* 'beak': Sk. *kauṇḍinya-* P. *koṇḍañña-* > *kun̆ḍan* 'name of a Thera'; P. *piṇḍa-pāta*, > *pin̆ḍu-vā* 'alms.'

ṇṇ (MI.) > *ṇ*, *ḷ*, *n̆ḍ*, e. g. P. *ākiṇṇa-* (= Sk. *ākīrṇa-*) > *akiṇ* 'crowded'; P. *āciṇṇa-* (= Sk. *ācīrṇa-*) > *äsin* 'practised'; P. *karīsapuṇṇa-* (= Sk. *karīṣa-pūrṇa-*) > *kirisa-vuḷu* 'full of filth'; P. *paṇṇākāra-* > *pan̆ḍuru* 'present.'

ṇh (MI.) > *ṇ*, e. g. P. *uṇha-* (= Sk. *uṣṇa-*) > *uṇu* 'warm'; Pk. *kiṇha-* (= Sk. *kṛṣṇa-*) > *kiṇu* 'black.'

t is retained initially, e. g. Sk. *tapas-* > *tava* 'asceticism, penance'; Sk. P. *taru-* > *turu* 'tree'; Sk. P. *tuṅga-* > *tun̆gu* 'tall'.

The intervocalic *t* is generally elided in the inherited forms. But sometimes it is retained, especially in semi-loan words, e. g. Sk. *ṛtu-*, P. *utu-* > *uvu*, *yu* 'season'; Sk. P. *vitāna-* > *viyan* 'canopy'; Sk. *smṛti-* P. *sati-* > *sihi*, *sī* 'recollection'; Sk. *stuti-*, P. *thuti-* > *tivu*, *tuti* 'praise'; Sk. *kṛta-* > *kitu* 'name of a yuga'; Sk. P. *mātaṅga-* > *matan̆ga* 'elephant'; Sk. *hutāśa-* > *hutäs* 'fire'; Sk. P. *saṅghāta-* > *san̆gāta* 'collection, assemblage.'

t, especially of Old-Indian, becomes *ṭ* in Middle-Indian on account of some cerebralizing element, and that subsequently gives rise to ḷ in Sinhalese, e. g. Sk. *prativedha-*, P. *paṭivedha-* > *piḷivē* 'penetrating into, com-

prehension'; Sk. *pratijñā-*, P. *paṭiññā-*, > *piḷina* 'pledge, promise'; Sk. *pratirūpa-*, P. *paṭirūpa-* > *piḷirū* 'image, picture.'

tk > *kk* > *k*, e.g. Sk. *satkāra-* > P. *sakkāra-* *sakara* 'respect, hospitality'; Sk. *balāt-kāra-* > *balakara* 'doing by force, violence.'

tt > *t*, *ṭ* through cerebralization, e.g. Sk. *parivṛtti-* > *piriväti* 'revolution, return'; P. *viyatta-* (=Sk. *vyakta-*) > *viyat* 'learned'; P. *kitti-* (=Sk. *kīrti-*) > *kit* 'fame'; Sk. *mṛttikā-*, Pk. *maṭṭiā-* > *mäṭi* 'earth, clay.'

tth > *th* (early), *t*, e.g. Sk. *vistārayati*, P. *vitthāreti* > *vitharayi* 'expands, explains'; Sk. *upastambha-*, P. *upatthambha-* > *uvathaṁba* 'basis, support'; P. *vissattha-* (=Sk. *visvasta-*) > *visat* 'trusted'; P. *hattha-* (=Sk. *hasta*) > *hat*, *at* 'hand.'

tp > *pp* > *p*, e.g. Sk. *utpādayati*, P. *uppādeti* > *upayayi* 'generates'; Sk. *utpāṭayati*, P. *uppāṭeti* > *upuḷayi* 'tears out, eradicates.'

ty > *cc* > *s*, e.g. Sk. *nṛtyati*, P. *naccati* > *nasī* 'dances'; Sk. *kṛtya-*, P. *kicca-* > *kisa* 'duty, task'; Sk. *satya-*, P. *sacca-* > *sas* 'truth.'

Sometimes *ty* is represented by *t* or *t+t*, particularly in words not fully developed, or borrowed later, e.g. Sk. *satyaṅkāra-*, P. *saccakāra-* > *hätayaru* 'earnest money'; Sk. *sāhitya-* > *sāhita* 'literary composition'; Sk. *anitya-* > *anit* 'impermanent'; Sk. *nitya-* > *nitta* 'permanent'; Sk. *satya-* > *sat* 'truth'; Sk. *satyaka-* > *sattaka* 'name of a person.'

th Initial *th* usually of Middle-Indian, may be retained in Old Sinhalese, but generally, it loses its aspiration, or gets split up into the mute and aspirate, e.g. P. *thullaccaya-* (=Sk. *sthūlātyaya-*) > *thulāsi* 'grave offence'; P. *thusa-* (=Sk. *tuṣa-* > *toho, tō* 'chaff'; P. *thira-* (=Sk. *sthira-*) > *tira* 'firm'; Sk. P. *sthāvara-*) > *tahavuru, tāvuru* 'fixed, stable.'

Intervocalic *th* generally disappears; but sometimes it is deaspirated without being voiced. Occasionally the mute is dropped and the aspirate remains. If there is a cerebralizing element in the Old-Indian stage, *th* may become *ṭh* in Middle-Indian and then give rise to *ḷ* in Sinhalese, e.g. Sk. P. *ratha-* > *riya, raṭa* 'chariot'; Sk. *maithuna-*, P. *methuna-* > *mevun* 'copulation'; Sk. P. *gāthā-* > *gaya*, *gā* 'stanza'; Sk. *pothayati*, P. *potheti* > *poyayi* 'flogs, bruises'; Sk. P. *sārathi-* > *säri* 'charioteer'; Sk. P. *mahāpatha-* > *mā-vata* 'high way'; Sk. *atharvan-* > *taravan* 'Atharva (Veda)'; Sk. *manmatha-* > *manmada* 'god of love'; Sk. P. *vīthi-* > *vē*, *vīdi* (probably through Tamil) 'street'; Sk. *pṛthag-jana-*, P. *puthujjana* > *puhujun*, *puhudun* 'worldling'; Sk. *śithila-*, P. *sithila-* > *ihil* 'loose'; Sk. *pṛthuka-*, P. *puthuka-* > *puḷuva* 'rice with corn.'

d is retained at the beginning of a word, e.g. Sk. *duḥkha-*, P. *dukkha-* > *duka* 'sorrow'; Sk. *dāman-*, P. *dāma-* > *dam* 'chain, garland.'

The intervocalic *d* may either be retained or dropped, e.g. Sk. P. *ādara-* > *adara* 'love, affection'; Sk. P. *nidāna-* > *nidan* 'origin, cause';

Sk. P. *udaya-* > *udā* 'rise'; Sk. P. *bheda-* > *bē* 'division'; Sk. P. *sahodara-* > *sohoyuru* 'brother'; Sk. P. *vedanā-* > *veyin* 'feeling, sensation.'

The initial as well as intervocalic *d* is sometimes changed to *j* in Old Sinhalese through analogy, e. g. Sk. *durgati-*, P. *duggati-* > *jugati* 'hell'; Sk. *durvacas-*, P. *dubbaca-* > *juvuju* 'evil speech, using bad language.'

dg > *gg* > *g*, *n̆g*, e. g. Sk. *pudgala-*, P. *puggala-* > *pugul*, *pun̆gul* 'person'; Sk. *mudga-*, P. *mugga-* > *mun̆gu* 'a kind of bean.'

dd (MI.) > *d*, e. g. P. *sadda-* (=Sk. *śabda-*) > *sada* 'noise'; P. *saddūla-* (=Sk. *śārdūla*) > *sadul* 'tiger.'

ddh > *dh* (early), *d*, *n̆d*, *d+h*, or sometimes *j* through analogy, e. g. P. *addhāna-* (=Sk. *adhvan-*) > *adhan*, *adan* 'journey, way'; Sk. *saddharma-*, P. *saddhamma-* > *sadham*, *sadam* 'excellent doctrine'; Sk. *prasiddha-* > *parasidu pasidu* 'famous'; Sk. P. *yuddha-* > *yuda* 'battle'; Sk. P. *nibaddha-* > *niban̆da* 'fixed, constant'; P. *sniddha-* (=Sk. *snigdha-*) > *sinin̆du* 'soft smooth'; Sk. *siddhārtha-*, P. *siddhattha-* > *siduhatu*, *sid'aatu* 'white mustard'; Sk. P. *buddha-* > *buju* 'understood, enlightened'; Sk. P. *viruddha-* > *viruj* 'opposite'; Sk. *śraddhā*, P. *saddhā-* > *säjähä* 'faith'.

dy > *jj* > *j* (early), *d*, e. g. Sk. *pradyota-*, P. *pajjota-* > *pajo* 'name of a king'; Sk. *khadyota-* P. *khajjota-* > *kadō* 'fire-fly'.

dy > *yy* > *y*, e. g. Sk. *udyāna-*, P. *uyyāna-* > *uyana* 'park.'

dr > *dd* > *d*, *d+r*; or *dr* > *dl* > *ll* > *l*, e. g. Sk. *samudra-*, P. *samudda-* > *samuda* (as preserved in Old Hindi cf. Padumāvatī of Jaisi II, 31.) > **sumuda* > **humuda* > *muhuda*, *mūda*, *samudura* (through *svarabhakti*); Sk. *chidra-*, P. *chidda-*, Pk. *chilla-* > *sida*, *sila*, *hila*, and *sidura* 'hole, aperture'; Sk. *bhadra-* > *bada*, *baduru*, *bahaduru* 'excellent etc'

dv > *dd* > *d*, e. g. Sk. *śādvala-*, P. *saddala-* > *sadala* 'grassy spot'; Sk. P. *dvāra-* > *dora* 'door.'

dh The initial *dh* is retained in Old Sinhalese, and later it loses its aspiration, or gets split up into the mute and aspirate, e. g. Sk. *dharma-*, P. *dhamma-* > *dham*, *dam*, *daham* 'doctrine'; Sk. P. *dhātu-* > *dhā*, *dā* 'element' Sk.; P. *dhanu-* > *dunu* 'bow'; Sk. P. *dhūma-* > *dum* 'smoke'; Sk, P. *dhenu-* > *dena* 'cow.'

Intervocalic *dh* is retained in Old Sinhalese. Later, it generally disappears in the inherited words; but sometimes, particularly in the borrowed words, *dh* is either deaspirated, or the aspirate alone remains. Occasionally *dh* is split up into the mute and aspirate, or through analogy it changes in Old Sinhalese to *j*, e. g. Sk. P. *adhikāra-* > *adhiyara* 'authority, office'; Sk. *pradhāna-*, P. *padhāna-* > *pradhan*, 'chief'; Sk. P. *ādhāra-* > *avuru* 'support'; Sk. *adhiṣṭhāna-*, P. *adhiṭṭhāna-* > *ayiṭan*, *iṭan*, *diṭam*, 'resolve'; Sk. P. *badhira-* > *biyuru*, *bihiri*, *badira* 'deaf'; Sk. P. *pidhāna-* > *piyana* 'lid'; Sk. *yaśodharā-*, P. *yasodharā-* > *isōrā* 'name of a queen'; Sk. P. *jalanidhi-* > *dalanidu* 'ocean'; Sk. P. *nidhāna-* > *nidan*, *nadan*, *najan* 'deposit, treasure';

Vedic *sādhati* Sk. *sādhayati*, P. *sādheti* > *sāhayi* 'accomplishes'; Sk. P. *rudhira-* > *ruhira*, *rihiri*, *rīri* 'blood'; Sk. P. *dhārā-* > *dahara* 'stream, current'; Sk. *praṇidhāna-*, P. > *paṇidhāna* > *piṇidahan* 'prayer, longing, entreaty'; Sk. *abhidharma-*, P. *abhidhamma-*, > *bhidham*, *bidam*, *vijam* 'one of the three piṭakas of the Buddhist canon.'

dhy > *jjh* > *jh* (early), *d*+*h*, e. g. Sk. *dhyāna-*, P. *jhāna-* > *jhan*, *dahan*, *dähän* 'meditation'; P. *ajjhāsaya* > *adahasa* 'intention.'

dhv > *ddh* > *d*, e. g. Sk. *dhvaja-*, P. *dhaja-* > *dada* 'flag'.

n Initially and medially, *n* is most often retained. In a few instances it changes to *l*, e. g. Sk. *nabhas-*, P. *nabha-* > *nuba* 'sky'; Sk. P. *nagara-* > *nuvara* 'city'; Sk. *kāñcana-*, P. *kañcana-* > *kasun* 'gold'; Sk. P. *vimāna-* > *viman* 'palace, abode'; Sk. P. *anubaddha-* > *nuhu-baňda-*, *luhu-baňda* 'followed by, chased after'; P. *ghana-vāsa-* > *gala-vas* 'thickly populated.'

nt > *t*, 1 (?) e. g. Sk. P. *āgantuka-* > *avutu* > *amutu* 'stranger'; Sk. *śakunta-*, P. *sakunta-* > *siyot* 'bird'; Sk. *atikrānta-*, P. *atikkanta-* > *ikut* 'gone beyond'; Sk. *pratyanta-*, P. *paccanta-* > *pasat*, *pasal*, 'bordering country.'

nth > *th* (early), *t*, *ňd*, e. g. P. *paṭisanthāra-* > *piḷisathara*, *piḷisaňdara* 'friendly welcome'; P. *paripantha-* > *pirivat*, *piripat* 'abstacle, danger'; Sk. P. *mantha-* > *mata* 'churning', Sk. *grantha-*, P. *gantha-* > *gat* 'book.'

nd > *ňd*, *d*, e. g. Sk. P. *mandira-* > *mǎdura*; Sk. P. *makaranda-* > *muvarada* 'nectar or filaments of flowers'; Sk. P. *kunda-* > *koňda* 'jasmine'; Sk. P. *sundara* > *soňduru* 'beatiful'.

ndr > *ňd*, *ňd*+*r*, e. g. Sk. *mahendra-*, P. *mahinda-* > *mihiňdu* 'name proper'; Sk. *indra-* > *iňdu*, *iňduru* 'Indra'.

ndh > *d*, *j* (early), *ňd*, *ňd*+*h*, e. g. Sk. P. *sugandha-* > *suvaňda* 'sweet-smelling, fragrance'; Sk. P. *andha-* > *aňda* 'blind'; Sk. *gandharva-*, P. *gandhabba-* > *gaňdam̌ba*, *gajam̌ba* 'celestial musician'; Sk. P, *sandhāna* > *saň-dahan* 'bringing together, advertence'.

nn > *n*, *ňd*, *l* (?), e. g. Sk. P. *āsanna-* > *asan*, *asal* 'near'; Sk. P. *āpanna* > *avan* 'gained, acquired'; Sk. P. *kinnara-* > *kinuru*, *kinduru* 'a mythical being'.

nm > *mm* > *m*, e. g. Sk. *unmattaka-*, P. *ummattaka-* > *umatu* 'mad'.

p The initial *p* is retained, e. g. Sk. *pratipadyate*, P. *paṭitpajjati* > *piḷipadī* 'practises'; Sk. *pūrṇa-*, P. *puṇṇa-*, *pun* 'full'.

The intervocalic *p* is sometimes retained ; sometimes it is changed to *b* or *m̌b*. In the inherited words the intervocalic *p* is most often softened to *v*, and that too disappears sometimes : Sk. P. *gopāla-* > *gopalu* 'cow-herd'; Sk. *pratipādayati*, P, *paṭipādeti* > *piḷipayayi* 'bestows, presents'; Sk. *ripu-* > *rupu* 'enemy'; Sk. *praṇipāta-*, P. *paṇipāta-* > *paṇipā* 'prostration'; Sk. P, *kalāpa-* > *kalaba*, *kalam̌ba* 'bundle'; Sk. P. *āpo-dhātu-* > *ab-dhā* 'the element of water'; Sk. *sthāpayati* > *tabayi* 'places, keeps'; Sk. *trapu-*, P. *tipu-* > *tum̌bu* 'tin, lead'; Sk. *stūpa-*, P. *thūpa-* > *tum̌ba*, *stūpa* 'mound of earth'; Sk. Sk. P. *kūpa-* >

kum̆ba 'mast'; Sk. *kapila-vastu-*, P. *kapila-vatthu-* > *kim̆bul-vat* 'name of a city in ancient India'; Sk. *kṛpaṇa-* > *kavaṇa* 'miserable'; Sk. P. *āpāna-* > *avan* 'drinking place'; Sk. *upānah-*, P. *upāhana-*, Pk. *uvāhana-*, Ap. *vāhaṇa-* > *vahan* 'shoe'; Sk. *prāṇātipāta-*, P. *pāṇātipāta-* > *paṇīvā* 'taking away life'; Sk. *pratipṛcchati*, P. *paṭipucchati* > *pilivusī* 'questions'; Sk. P. *rūpa-*, Pk. *rūva-* > **ruv* > *rū* 'beauty, form'; Sk. P. *pūpa-*, Pk. *pūva-* > **puv* > *pū* 'cake'; Sk. *paripūrṇa-* > *piriyuṇu* 'completely full'; Sk. *śāriputra-*, P. *sariputta-* > *sāriyut* 'name of a Thera'; Sk. P. *nūpura-*, Pk. *nūura-*, *neura-* > *nuru* 'anklet'; Sk. P. *pāpa-*, Pk. *pāva- pav*, *pā* 'sin'.

pp, (MI), *pph* (MI), *pr*, *mp* > *p*, e. g. P. *dappa-* (=Sk. *darpa-*) > *dap* 'pride'; P. *vippaṭisāra-* (=Sk. *vipratisāra-*) > *vipiḷisara* 'repentance'; P. *puppha-* (= Sk. *puṣpa-*) > *pup* flower'; P. *goppha-* (=Sk. *gulpha-*) > *gop* 'ankle'; Sk. *viprakāra-*, P. *vippakāra-* > *vipuvara-* 'disorder'; Sk. P. *paramparā-* > *parapura* 'succession, lineage'.

ps > *cch* > *s*, e. g. Sk. *apsarā-*, P. *accharā-* > *asara* 'a celestial nymph'.

ph Initially as well as medially, *ph* becomes *p* or *p+h*, e. g. Sk. P. *phala-* > *pala* 'fruit'; Sk. P. *phena-* > *peṇa* 'foam forth'; P. *phassa-* (=Sk. *sparsa-*) > *pahasa* 'touch, contact'.

b Initially, *b* is retained, e. g. Sk. *badhnāti*, P. *bandhati* > *bam̆dī*; Sk. P. *buddha-* > *budu* 'enlightened'.

Intervocalic *b* is also retained, sometimes with a half nasal, e. g. Sk. *pratibimba-*, P. *paṭibimba-* > *piḷibm̆bu* 'reflection'; Sk. *prabodhayati*, P. *pabodehti* > *pobayayi* 'wakes up, awakens'; Sk. *daśa-bala-*, P. *dasa-bala* > *dasam̆bul* 'an epithet of the Buddha'.

bb (MI.) > *b*, *m̆b*, e. g. Sk. *nirvidyate*, P. *nibbindati*, *nibbijjati* > *nibim̆dī* 'gets wearied of, is disgusted with'; P. *gandhabba-* (=Sk. *gandharva-*) > *gam̆daba*, *gam̆dam̆ba* 'celestial musician'; P. *dubbala-* (=Sk. *durbala-*) > *dum̆bul* 'weak'.

bh (MI.) > *b*, e. g. P. *gabbha-* (=Sk. *garbha-*) > *gaba* 'womb'.

br > *b*, *br*, *b+r*, e. g. Sk. P. *brāhmaṇa-* > *bamuṇu*; Sk. P. *brahma-* > *bam̆ba-*, *baram*; Sk. P. *sabrahmacāri-* > *sabramsaru*, *sabaramsaru* 'fellow Brahmacārin'.

bh The initial or intervocalic *bh* is sometimes retained in Old Sinhalese, but usually it becomes deaspirated, e. g. P. *bhante* > *bhati* 'Oh Lord'; Sk. P. *bhāga-* > *bhā* 'division'; Sk. P. *abhirati-* > *abhirī* 'delighting in pleasure'; Sk. *abhiniṣkramaṇa-* > *bhinikman* 'going forth, renunciation'; Sk. *bhikṣā-*, P. *bhikkhā-* > *bika* 'alm'; Sk. P. *bhīru-* > *biru* 'timid'; Sk. P. *lobha-* > *loba-* 'greed'; Sk. *śobhana-*, P. *sobhana-* > *sobana*, *hobana* 'lovely'.

The intervocalic *bh* may also become *m̆b*, or *b+h*, or *h*, e. g. Sk. P. *nābhi-* > *nāba*, *nām̆ba* 'navel'; Sk. *nabhas-*, P. *nabha-* > *nuba*, *num̆ba* 'sky'; Sk. *bhīṣaṇa-* > *bihisuṇu* 'terrifying'; Sk. *bhaiṣajya-*, P. *bhesajja-* > *behesat*

'medicine'; Sk. P. *bhasma-* > *bahasma* 'ashes'; Sk. *prabhā-*, P. *pabhā-* > *pähä* 'shine, lustre'; Sk. P. *rasa-bhāva-* > *rasa-hav* 'emotions and sentiments'.

bhy > *bbh* > *h*, or *b*+*y*, e. g. Sk. *abhyavakāśa-*, P. *abbhokāsa-* > *abavasa* 'open space'; Sk. *abhyāśa-*, P. *abhyāsa-* > *abiyasa*, *abiyesa* 'neighbourhood'.

bhr > *bbh* > *b*, *m̆b*, e. g. Sk. *bhramara-*, P. *bhamara-* > *bamara* 'bee' Sk. *kālābhra-* > *kaḷaba*, *kaḷām̆ba* 'rain cloud'.

m. Initial *m* is retained, e. g. Sk. P. *mahī-* > *mihi* 'earth'; Sk. P. *mātra-*, Pk. *matta-* > *mat* 'measure';

Intervocalic *m* is either retained, or changes to *m̆b* or rarely *b* (?), e. g. Sk. P. *samāsa-* > *samas* 'compound'; Sk. P. *bahumāna-* > *buhuman* 'great respect'; Sk. P. *timira-* > *tim̆biri* 'darkness'; Sk. P. *tāmarasa-* > *tam̆buru* 'red lotus'; Sk. P. *ārāma-* > *arub* 'grove'; Sk. *viśrāma-* > *visum̆bu*, *isubu* (?).

mp > *p*, b (rarely), e. g. Sk. *campū* > *sapu* 'a mixed composition'; Sk. P. *anukampā* > *anukapu* 'sympathy'; P. *sampadaṃ* > *säbajam* 'blessing'.

m̆b (MI.) > *m̆b*, *p* (rarely), e. g. P. *amba-* (=Sk. *āmra-*) > *am̆ba* 'mango'; Sk. P. *nitamba-* > *nitam̆bu* 'buttock'; Sk. P. *cumbati.* > *sim̆bī*, *him̆bī* *imbī* 'kisses'; Sk. *viḍambayati* > *veḷapayi* emulates.'

mbh > *bh* (early), *m̆b*, e. g. Sk. P. *sambhāvanā-* > *sabhavun* honour'; Sk. P. *gambhīra-* > *gam̆buru* 'deep'; Sk. *viṣkambhaṇa-*, P. *vikkhambhana-* > *vikham̆bun* 'impeding, elimination'.

mm (MI.) > *m*, *m̆b*, *v*, e. g. P. *nekkhamma-* (=Sk. *naiṣkarmya-*) > *nekham* 'renunciation'; P. *vammika-* (=Sk. *valmīka-*) > *vami* 'ant-hill'; P. *kamma* (=Sk. *karman-*) > *kam* 'act, deed'; P. *kammāra-* (Sk. *karmāra-*) > *kam̆buru* 'black-smith'; P. *ammaṇaka-* > *avuṇu* 'trough'.

mh > *m*, e. g. P. *gimhāṇa-* > *giman* 'summer'.

y. Initially as well as medially, *y* is generally retained, e. g. Sk. *yaṣṭi-*, P. *yaṭṭhi-* > *yaṭi* 'pole'; Sk. *yāpayati*, P. *yāpeti* > *yavayi* 'causes to go, spends'; Sk. P. *viyoga-* > *viyō* 'separation'; Sk. *vyāyāma-*, P. *vāyāma-* > *vayam* 'exertion'.

Initial *y* may sometimes be reduced to *i* through *samprasāraṇa*, e. g. Sk. *yaśodharā-*, P. *yasodharā-* > *isorā* 'name of the wife of the Prince Siddhārtha'; Sk. *yamala-śāla-*, P. *yamala-salā-* > *imal-hals* 'the twin Sāla trees'.

y at the end of a word may disappear, e. g. P. *kāya-* > *kay* > *kā* 'body'; Sk. P. *āyu-* > *ā* 'duration of life'; Sk. *kāya-karman-*, P. *kāya-kamma-* > *kā-kam* 'bodily act'; Sk. P. *chāyā-* > *sā* 'shade'.

yy > *y*, e. g. P. *uyyāna-* (=Sk. *udyāna-*) *uyana* 'park'.

r Initially as well as medially *r* is generally retained. Sometimes the intervocalic *r* changes to *l*, e. g. Sk. *rajas-*> *rada*, *radasa* 'dust';

Sk. *ripu-* > *rupu* 'enemy';. Sk. *rāṣṭra-*, P. *raṭṭha-* > *raṭa* 'country'; Sk. *raśmi-*, P. *raṃsi-* > *räs* 'ray'; Sk. *pariśuddha-*, P. *parisuddha-* > *pirisidu*, *pirisudu* 'pure'; Sk. P. *karuṇā-*, AMg. *kaluṇā* > *kuluṇu* 'sympathy'; Sk. P. *kumbhakāra-* > *kum̆bal* 'potter'; Sk. P. *upakāra-*, Pk. *uvaāra-* > *uvahara*, *vahara*, *vahaḷ* 'help'; P. *kaḷīra* > *kiḷil* 'top-sprout (especially of the bamboo)'.

rk > *kk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. *vitarka-*, P. *vitakka-* > *vitak* 'reasoning, opinion'; Sk. *śarkarā-*, P. *sakkarā-* > *sakur* 'candied sugar'.

rg > gg > g, *n̆g*, e. g. Sk. *varga-*, P. *vagga-* > *vaga* 'group'; Sk. *svarga-*, P. *sagga-* > *saga* 'heaven'; Sk. *mārga-*, P. *magga-* > *maga*, *man̆ga* 'road'.

rgh > ggh > g, e. g. Sk. *argha-*, P. *aggha-* > *aga* 'price' Sk. *dīrgha-*, P. *dīgha-*, Pk. *diggha-* > *diga* 'long'.

rch > cch>s, e. g. Sk. *mūrchā-*, P. *mucchā-*, > *musa* 'swoon'.

rṇ > *ṇṇ* > *ṇ* (old), *n* (later), *n̆ḍ*, e. g. Sk. *ācīrṇa-*, P. *āciṇṇa-* > *äsin* 'practised'; Sk. *utpalavarṇa-*, P. *uppalavaṇṇa-* > *upulvan* 'name of a deity'; Sk. **parṇākāra-*, P. *paṇṇākāra-* > *paṅḍuru* 'present'.

rt > tt > *t*, or *rt* > *ṭṭ* > *ṭ*, e. g. Sk. *pravartate*, P. *pavattati* > *pavatī* 'goes on, exists'; Sk *vartamāna-*, P. *vattamāna-* > *vatman* 'present'; Sk. *vartikā-*. Pk. *vaṭṭiā-* > *väṭa väṭi* 'wick of a lamp'; Sk. *vartate* > *väṭeyi* 'exists'.

rth > tth > *t*, or > *ṭṭh* > *ṭ*, or > *r* + *t*, e. g. Sk. *artha-*, P. *attha-*, *aṭṭha-* > *at*, *aṭa*, *arut* 'meaning'; Sk. *tīrtha-*, OI. **tūrtha-*, P. *tittha-*, Pk. **tuṭṭha-* > *tit*, *toṭa* 'ford'; Sk. *sārtha-*, P. *sattha-* > *sat* 'caravan'.

rd > *dd* > *d*, or *rd* > *ḍḍ* > *ḍ*, e. g. Sk. *nirdiṣṭa-*, P. *niddiṭṭha-* > *niduṭu* 'shown, described'; Sk. *dardura-* > *daduru*, *däduru* 'frog'; Sk. *gardabha-*, Pk. *gaddabha-*, *gaddaha-* *gaḍḍaha* > *gadubu*, *gaḍubu*, *gaḍubu* 'ass'; Sk. *pardate* > **paḍḍai* > *paḍī* 'breaks wind'.

rdh > *ddh* > *d*, or *rdh* > *ḍḍh* > *ḍ*, e. g. Sk. *mūrdhan-*, P. *muddhana-* >*muduna* 'top, summit'; Sk, *ardha-*, P. *aḍḍha-* > *aḍa* 'half'; Sk. *vardhate*, P. *vaḍḍhati*, Pk. *vaḍḍhai* > *vaḍī*, *väḍeyi* 'grows'.

rp > *pp* > *p*, e.g. Sk. *kandarpa-*, P. *kandappa-* > *kan̆dap* 'God of love'; Sk. *darpaṇa-*, P. *dappaṇa-* > *dapaṇa* 'mirror'; Sk. *sarpis-*, P. *sappi-* > *sapi*, *hapi* 'ghee'.

rm > *mm* > *m*, *m̆b*, or *r*+*m*, e. g. Sk. *karman-*, P. *kamma-* > *kam* 'action'; Sk. *varman-*, P. *vamma-* > *vam* 'armour'; Sk. *marman-* > *maruma* 'vital spot'; Sk. *karmāra-*, P. *kammāra-* > *kam̆buru* 'black-smith'.

rv > *vv*, bb > *v*, *b*, *m̆b*, or *r*+*v*, e. g. Sk. *parvata-*, Pk. *pavvaya-* > *pavu* 'mountain'; Sk. *darvi-*, Pk. *davvi-* 'spoon'; Sk. *sarva-*, Pk. *savva-* > *sav* 'all'; Sk. *gāndharva-* >*gan̆daba*, *gadn̆am̆bā* 'musician'; Sk. *urvaśī-* > *uruvisi* 'name of a nymph'; Sk. *pūrva-bhāga-* > *pū-bhā* 'fore-part'.

rś, *rṣ* > ss > s, or become *r*+s, or disappear after becoming single s, e. g. Sk. *arśas-* > *arisas* 'piles'; Sk. *varṣā-* > *varusā* 'rain', > *varusa*

'year'; Sk. *varṣa-*, P. *vassa-* > **vāsa-* > *vā*, *vasa* 'year'; Sk. *nidarśana-* > *nidasum* 'illustration, example'; Sk. *gharṣa-* > *gasa* 'rubbing, friction'.

l The initial as well intervocalic *l*, is generally retained. But occasionally *l* seems tp give rise to *n*, e. g. Sk. P. *latā;-* > *liya;* Sk. P. *vilepana-* > *vilevun* 'smearing, anointing'; Sk. P. *kapola-* > *kopola*, *kopul* 'cheek'; Sk. *lalayati*, *lālayati*, P. *lāleti*, **lalāpeti-* > *nalavayi* 'sports, fondles'; Sk. *mūla-śikṣā-*, P. *mūla-sikkhā-* > *mul-sika-*, *mun-sika* lit. 'primary precepts, name of a manual of Vinaya'.

lk > *kk* > *k*, e. g. Sk. *śulka-*, P. *suṅka-*, > *sukka-* *suk* 'tax';

lp > *pp* > *p*, or *l+p*, e. g. Sk. *śilpa-*, P. *sippa-*, > *sip* 'art'; Sk. *kalpa-*, P. *kappa-* > *kap* 'aeon'; Sk. *alpa-* > *älup* 'little'.

lm > *mm* > *m*, or *l+m*, e. g. Sk. *gulma-*, P. *gumba-*, Pk. *gumma-* > *gomu* 'clustre, thicket, grove'; Sk. *śālmalī-* > *salimalī* 'name of a tree'.

ly > *ll* > *l*, e. g. Sk. P. *tulya-* > *tul* 'comparable, equal'; Sk. P. *kalyāṇa-* > *kalaṇa* 'auspicious, lovely.'

ll > *l*, e. g. Sk. P. *pallava-* > *palu* 'sprout'; P. *khallāṭa-* (= Sk. *khalvāṭa-*) > **kalalu-* > *kalul* 'bald-headed'; Sk. P. *vallabha-* > *valba* 'beloved, favourite'.

v The initial as well as the intervocalic *v* is most often retained, e. g. Sk. P. *vāra-* > *vara* 'turn'; Sk. P. *vilāsa-* > *vilas* 'dalliance'; Sk. P. *bhāvanā-* > *bhavun*, *bavun* 'meditation'; Sk. *vivikta-*, P. *vivitta-* > *vivit* 'detached, lonely'.

Sometimes the *v* changes to *b* or *m*, or gets reduced to *u*, or disappears, e. g. Sk. *pravāla-*, P. *pavāla-* > *pabalu* 'coral'; Sk. *vyavahāra-* > *bävahara* 'trade, usage'; Sk. *viruda-* > *biruda* 'panegyric'; Sk. P. *vakula-* > *muhulu* 'name of a tree'; Sk. *lavanga-* *lamaṅga* 'clove tree'; Sk. *vaiśravaṇa-*. P. *vessavaṇa-*, Pk. *vesamṇ-* > *vesamuṇu* 'god of wealth'; P. *paveṇī-* > *pemeṇi* 'succession, lineage'; Sk. *viśrāma-* > *isubu*, *isum̆bu* 'rest, repose'; Sk. P. *vadana-* > *vuvan*, *uvan* 'face'; P. *saṅgha-navaka-* > *hanga-nā* 'newly ordained monk, novice'.

vy > *vv* > *v*, or *v+y*, e. g. Sk. *divyāpsarā-* > *divasara* 'celestial nymph'; Sk. P. *vyasana-* > *vasan* 'calamity'; Sk. *kāvya-*, Pk. *kavva-* > *kava* 'poem'; Sk. *parivyaya-*, P. *paribbaya-*, Pk. *parivvaa-* > *pirivā* expense'; Sk. *vyakta-*, P. *viyatta-* > *viyat* 'learned'; Sk. P. *vyādhi-* > *viya* 'disease'.

ś, *ṣ*, *s* Initially as well as medially, the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* change to s, excepting in Sinhalese Prakrit where the palatal *ś* has been preserved, and the Sanskrit loan-words where all the three sibilants may occur, e. g. Sk. *śaṅkā-* > *saka*, *sak* 'doubt'; Sk. *yaśas-* > *yasa*, *yasasa*, 'glory'; Sk. *prakāśa-* > *puvasa* 'declaration'; Sk. *ṣaṭ*, P. *cha* > *sa(ya)* 'six' Sk. *bhāṣā-* > *basa* 'language'; P. *vihesa-* > *vehesa* 'fatigue, exhaustion'; Sk. *daśana* P. *dasana-* > *dasan* 'teeth'.

A single sibilant, initial or intervocalic, may sometimes change to *h*, or disappear subsequently, e. g. Sk. *śuddha-*, P. *suddha-* > *sudu*, *hudu*, *udu* 'pure'; Sk. *sasya-*, *śasya-*, P. *sassa-* > *sas*, *has*, *as* 'corn'; Sk. *sarva-*, Pk. *savva-* > *hav* 'all'; Sk. P. *sīma-* > *sima*, *hima*, *ima* 'boundary'; Sk, *siṃha-kavāṭa-*, P. *sīha-kavāṭa-* > *hī-kavuḷu* 'lion-shaped window'; Sk. *śmaśāna-*, P. *susāna-* > *sohona*, *sōna*, *hōna* 'cemetery'; Sk. *prasādhana-*, P. *pashdana-* > *pahayin*, *pāyin* 'decoration, ornament'; Sk. *vāśī-*, P. *vāsi-* > *vähä*, *vä* 'a kind of axe'; Sk. *tuṣa-*, P. *thusa-* > *toho*, *tō* 'chaff'.

sk, *ṣk* > *kkh* > *kh* (old), *k*, e. g. Sk. *saṃskāra-*, P. *saṃkhāra-* > *sakhara*, *sakara* 'constituent'; Sk. *namaskāra-* > *namakara* 'obeisance'; Sk. *puṣkara-*, P. *pokkhara-* > *pokuru* 'lotus'.

śc > *cc*, *cch* > *s*, e. g. Sk. *niścala-*, Pk. *niccala-* > *nisala* 'not moving, silent'; Sk. *duścarita-* > *dusiri* 'bad conduct'; Sk. *paścima-*, P. *pacchima-* > *päsim* 'western'; Sk. *āścarya-* > P. *acchariya-* > *asiri* 'wonderful'.

st, *sth* > *tth* > *t*, e. g. Sk. *stenayati*, P. *theneti*, > *tenani* 'steals'; Sk. *vastu-*, P. *vatthu-* > *vat* 'thing, object'; Sk. *praśasta-*, P. *pasattha-* > *pasat* 'praised, praise-worthy'; Sk. *sthāna-* > *tan*, *tän* 'place'.

str > *tth* > *t*, or *t+r*, e. g. Sk. *śastra-*, P. *sattha* > *sat* 'weapon'; Sk. *śāstra-*, P. *sattha-* > *sat*, *satara* 'instruction, branch of learning'.

sn > *nh* > *n*, or *n+h*, *s+n*, e. g. Sk. *snāti* > *nāvi*, *nahayi* 'bathes' Sk. *sneha-*, P. *sineha-* > *senē* 'love, affection'.

sm, *śm* > *ss* > *s*, or > *mm*, *mh* > *m*, > *s+m*, e. g. Sk. *smayate* (*smayati*) > **sedi* > **sei* > *seyi* 'smiles'; Sk. *śmaśru-*, P. *massu-* > *masu*, *mas* 'beard'; Sk. *smara-* > *samara* 'remembrance'.

ss (MI.) > *s*, e. g. P. *assu-* (=Sk. *aśru-*) > *asu* 'tears'; P. *assāsa-passāsa-* (=Sk. *āśvāsa-praśvāsa-*) > *asas-pasas-* 'breathing in and out.

ss may sometimes disappear, e. g. P. Pk. *vassa-* (=Sk. *varṣa-*) > **vāsa* > *vā* 'year'.

ṣṭ, *ṣṭh* > *ṭṭh* > *ṭ*, *ḷ*, e. g. Sk. *nirdiṣṭa-* > *niduṭu-* pointed out, laid down'; Sk. *vṛṣṭi-*, P. *vuṭṭhi-* > *viṭi-* 'rain'; Sk. *puṣṭa-* > *puṭu-* 'nourished'; Sk. *pratiṣṭhā-* > *piyuṭupihiṭa-* 'base, 'support'; Sk. *śārṅgaṣṭā-*, P. *saṅgaṭṭha-* > *haṅguḷu-* name of a tree' (cf. *ṭṭh* > *ḷ*).

ṣṇ > *ṇ*, e. g. Sk. *uṣṇa-*, P. *uṇha-* > *uṇu* 'warm'; Sk. *tṛṣṇā-*, P. *taṇhā* > *taṇa* 'thirst, desire'.

h The *h*, initial as well as intervocalic, may either be retained or dropped, e. g. Sk. P. *hāra-* > *hara* 'necklace'; Sk. *hṛd-*, *hṛdaya-* > *hada*, *hida*, *ada*, *ida* 'heart'; Sk. P. *sahakāra-* > *sahayuru* 'mango'; Sk. P. *mahī-* > *mihi* 'earth'; Sk. P. *āhāra-* > *ahara* 'food'; Sk. *hasta-*, P. *hatta-* > *hat*, *at* 'hand'; Sk. *utsāha-*, P. *ussāha-* > *usā* 'effort, energy'; Sk. P. *vivāha-* > *viyā* 'marriage';

A *h* not found in the Old or Middle Indian forms of words, is introduced in Sinhalese, either as an augment, or through analogy, e. g. Sk. *mṛdaṅga-*, Pk. *muiṅga-* > *mihiṅgu* 'a kind of drum'; Sk. P. *samāgama-* > *samaham*

'union'; Sk. P. *dukūla-* > *duhul* 'fine garment'; Sk, *aṣṭa-*, P. *aṭṭha-* > *aṭ*, *haṭ* 'setting'; Sk. P. *āsana-* > *asun*, *hasun* 'seat'; Sk. *adhyātma-*, P. *ajjhatta-* > *adaat*, *hadaat* 'internal'; Sk. *uṣṇa-*, P. *uṇha-* > *uṇu*, *huṇu* 'warm.'

Sometimes *h* changes to *s* through analogy, e. g. Sk. P. *haritāla-* > *hiriyal*, *siriyal* 'yellow orpiment'; Sk. P. *kadalī-* > *kehel*, *kesel* 'plantain.'

hm > *m*, e. g. Sk. P. *brāhmaṇa-* > *bamuṇu* 'Brahmin'; Sk. *brahmacarya-* > *bram-sara* 'religious studentship, life of celibacy'; Sk. *brahman-* > *baram* 'Brahma.'

hr > *h*, *h+r*, e. g. Sk. *hrada-* > *hada*, *daha* 'lake'; Sk. *hrī-* > *hiri* 'shame.

ḷ In Sinhalese *ḷ* of Pali is generally retained. If a Pali word contains ḷ which may be either dental or cerebral, Sinhalese prefers, as a rule, the cerebral *ḷ* : P. *kaḷīra* > *kiḷil* 'shoot of bamboo'; P. *kakkhaḷa* > *käkuḷu* 'rough'; Sk. *yugala-*, P. *yugaḷa-* > *yuvaḷa* 'pair'; P. *culla-*, *cūḷa-* > *suḷu* 'small, minor.'

Two Sanskrit Etymologies

By

LOUIS H. GRAY, *New York*

1. *ṛṣi-* 'seer'

In the *Naighaṇṭukakāṇḍa*, ii, 11, occurs the well-known passage, ऋषिर्दर्शनात् स्तोमान् ददर्शेत्यौपमन्यवस्तद्यदेनांस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म स्वयम्भ्वभ्यानर्षत् त ऋषयोऽभवंस्तदृषीणामृषित्वमिति विज्ञायते *ṛṣi* (is from sight (i. e., from the base √*dṛś* "He saw the hymns", so says Aupamanyava. Since Brahmā (?), the Self-Existent flowed them (?) intro them, engaged in austerities, they became *ṛṣis*. That (is) the *ṛṣi*-ness; so it is recognised'. That the *ṛṣis* 'saw' the Vedic hymns is a commonplace[1], but the etymology of the word is not too clear.

First of all, we may dismiss, as impossible from any phonological point of view, connexion with the bases √*dṛś* to 'see' (suggested by Aupamanyava), √*arc* to 'shine, praise, sing[2], or with Avesta *ərəšya-*, *ərəšva-* 'right-doing, righteous'[3]; connexion with √*ṛs* to 'flow' in the sense of 'pourer-forth' (of Vedic hymns; cf. the use of *abhi-ā* √*ṛṣ* in the passage of the *Naighaṇṭukāṇḍa* just quoted)[4] or with √**ṛṣ* to 'rain' as a variant of √*vṛṣ* (so that the *ṛṣi-* would have been originally a rain-magician)[5], while phonologically possible, is unsatisfactory semantically; and the quaint notion of *S'atapathabrāhmaṇa* (vi, 1, 1, 1) that the *ṛṣis* were so called 'because they were worn out with toil (and) austerity' (श्रमेण तपसाऽरिषंस्तस्मादृषयः) deserves no consideration.

My own suggestion is that the *ṛṣis* received their appellation because they were believed, in a prehistoric period, actually to have 'seen' the hymns while in a highly emotional state of religious exaltation, very

1. For a discussion of the 'sight' of the *ṛṣis* see especially J. Muir: ***Original Sanskrit Texts,*** ii (London, 1874), 195-197; iii (1868), 249, 262. cf. in general, Macdonell-Keith, ***Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*** (London, 1912), i, 115-117, and Muir, ***passim.***

2. Böhtlingk-Roth: ***Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.*** (Petrograd, 1855) i, 1063; J. Hertel: ***Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,*** phil.-hist. Klasse, XL, ii (1929), 27, 30, 115, note 2.

3. C. C. Uhlenbeck: ***Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*** (Amsterdam, 1898-99), p. 35, corrected by C. Bartholomae, ***Indogermanische Forschungen,*** ix (1898), 283. I have been unable to consult the discussion by I. J. S. Taraporewala: ***As. Mookerjee Volume,*** III, ii, no. 12.

4. H. Grassmann: ***Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*** (Leipzig, 1873), 292.

5. Th. Bloch: ***Wörter und Sachen,*** ii (1910), 4-7.

possibly in a trance. This recalls the well-known case of Muhammad and certain aspects of the wide-spread system of shamanism[1].

If this hypothesis be accepted, the word *ṛṣi-* is to be connected with the group of Sanskrit √*ras* 'to roar, yell, cry' *rasana-* 'roaring, screaming', *rasitṛ-* 'bellower, roarer', Gothic *razda* 'language, dialect', Old Icelandic *rödd* 'voice', Anglo-Saxon *reord* 'speech, tongue, language, voice'.

This Indo-European base **ras-* also appears in Sanskrit as √*rās* (i. e., **r$_e$ʔes-*, the reduced-full grade of **ra-ʔe-se-*) 'to howl, cry', and **ra- (ne)- ke-*, perhaps in Latin *raccare*, *rancare* 'roar (of a tiger)', *rāna* 'frog' from **rak-sna* or **rank-sna.* Like other Indo-European bases apparently beginning with *r-*, this also was originally preceded by a consonantal shwa (i. e., *ʔe-ra-*), which may appear (although the base here is ambiguous) in Armenian *ořnul* 'howl, yell'[2]. To these may be added the lexicographical Sanskrit √*ramb*, √*rambh* 'to sound, roar' from **ra-(m)b(h)-* (for the infixed nasal cf. the Latin *raccare*, *rancare* just cited).

One further question may be briefly raised in this connexion. Does not Sanskrit *śruti-* in its sense of 'divine knowledge, Veda', as distinguished from *smṛti-* 'tradition' (Sanskrit √*smṛ* 'to remember'; cf. Manu ii, 10: **श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयः** '*śruti* [is] to be understood [as] Veda [Revelation]'), imply that the *ṛṣis* not only 'saw' the Vedic hymns, but also 'heard' them (Sanskrit √*śru* 'to hear')—again in a state of shamanic exaltation?

2. *nāra-* 'water'

In an etymology of the name Nārāyaṇa, Manu i, 10, says:

आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः ।
ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः ॥

'the waters (are) called *nārās*; the waters, verily, are Nara's sons; since they aforetime (were) his path, therefore (he is) called Nārāyaṇa'. This verse is repeated in *Mahābhārata* XII, cxlii, 40 = 13168, and *Harivaṃśa* i, 28[3].

The word seems to be, in reality, cognate, though without the prefix *s-*, with the wide-spread group (with various determinatives) represented by Sanskrit √*snā* 'to bathe', √*snu* 'to drip', Armenian *nay* 'humid', Greek νήχω 'swim', νάω, ναύω (Aeolic; Hesychios), 'flow,' νέω (perfect νένευκα 'swim', ναϊάς 'river-nymph, spring-nymph', Latin *nāre, natāre* 'swim, float', Umbrian **snata** 'umecta', Middle Irish *snám*, Welsh *nawf* 'a swimming', etc[4].

1. Cf. J. A. MacCulloch. 'Shamanism' in ***Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,*** xi (Edinburgh, 1920), 441-446.

2. Walde-Pokorny: ***Etymologisches Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen,*** ii (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), 342.

3. Cf. also *Mahābhārata* III, clxxii, 3; cclxxii, 42; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* I, iv, 4; for other instances see the translation of the latter by Wilson-Hall, i (London, 1864), 57. note.

4. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 692-694. in all these languages except Sanskrit and Umbrian initial *sn* regularly becomes *n*, so that they cannot be directly compared with *nāra-* In Brythonic, initial mutation of *sn* to **hn, n* has been generalised.

The question also arises whether *nāra-* may not be cognate witn the equally wide-spread group of Sanskrit *naú-*, Greek *ναῦς*, Latin *nāvis*, Old Icelandic *nòr* 'boat, ship'[1]. This etymology, already suggested by P. Persson[2], seems, on the whole, preferable to other explanations which have been proposed, notably with Gothic *bnauen*, Old Icelandic (g)*núa* 'rub', in the sense of 'hollowed-out tree-trunk'[3].

Beside *nāra-*, evidently oxytone, is found Sansktit *nīrá-* 'water', both clearly zero-zero-full grades with different infixes : *nārá-* from *$n_e{}^ə$ró-* from **na-ə̂e-ró-* and *nīrá-* from **$n_e$iró-* from **na-î̭e-ró-* respectively.

1. Walde-Pokorny, ii, 315.

2. *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation* (Upsala, 1891), pp. 142-143 ; summarily rejected by E. Boisacq : *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1916), p. 659.

3. R. Meringer : *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii (1905), 149-153 ; favoured by Schrader-Nehring : *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, ii (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), 295 ; cf. O. Schrader : *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena, 1907), ii. 182, 300.

Indo-Iranica

BY

T. BURROW, *Oxford.*

1. Skt. *sphyá-*

Skt. *sphyá-* is used in the sense of a kind of wooden trowel used for certain sacrificial purposes and also in the sense of 'oar'. It has Indo-European cognates in words like Gk. σφήν 'wedge', σπεθη 'rudder, shoulder-blade, etc. Eng. *spoon*, *spade* and so forth. The dictionary of Walde-Pokorny (II, 653), separates it from these words and connects it with other words with which it has nothing to do. The Iranian words related to Skt. *sphyá-* do not appear in the Indo-European handbooks. They are: Wakhi *pëi* 'paddle, shovel', Yidgha *fīa* 'wooden spade shoulder-blade', Sanglechi *fī* 'shovel, wooden spade', Parachi *pī*, *phī* 'spade', Pers. *fih*, 'shovel, paddle, oar'. The Indo-European basis is *(s)phə-yó and the *s-* is moveable as in the many examples quoted by Wackernagel (I .§230) to which it is to be added.

2. Skt. *sthūlá-*

The same kind of *s-* appears also in the following words : Skt. *sthūrá-* 'bulky, strong, solid, big' *sthūlá-* 'id'., *sthávīyān* 'bigger, thicker, stronger,' *sthávișṭha-* 'biggest, thickest, strongest,' *sthávimán-* 'the thick end, broad part, breadth,' *sthávira-* 'thick, solid, strong, powerful' Av. *stūra-* 'big, strong', *staoyah-* 'bigger, stronger,' *stāvišta-* 'strongest, grossest', *stavah-* 'thickness, strength.' Related to these words we have the following without the initial *s-* : Skt. √*tu* (3 S Pr. *tauti*, *tavīti*) 'to be strong,' *tūya-* 'strong,' *tavás-* 'powerful, strong ; strength, power,' *tavișá-* 'strong,' *tavișī-* 'strength,' *tavīyān* 'stronger'; Av. *tav-* 'to be strong,' *tavah-* 'strength,' *təvīšī-* 'strength, power', OPers. *tauman-* 'power'. The aspiration of the tenuis in Skt. *sthūlá-* etc., has an exact parallel in Skt. √*sthag* 'to cover.' Gk στέγω, lat. *tego* etc., where the initial *s-* is likewise unstable. Compare also Skt. *sphīta-*: *pīna-* 'fat'.

3. Skt. √*tṛp* 'to steal'

A root √*tṛp* 'to steal' has become nearly extinct in the earliest Sanskrit and is preserved only as the final member of certain compounds, e. g. *asu-tṛ́p-* 'stealing life' and *paśu-tṛp-* 'stealing cattle'. Corresponding to this, Avestan has in one passage *trəfyāt* 'should steal' with which Pahl. *tirft* 'theft' is compared. The root √*trap* in Indo-European form **tlep-*, is to be compared with Gk. κλέπτω, Lat. *clepo*, Goth. *hlifan*, IE. **tlep-* is a dialect variation of *k*lep-*, and the variation is due to the instability of the groups *kl* and *tl* which tend in a great number of languages to be confused with each other : thus, in lat. *tl* becomes *cl* and in many

English dialects the reverse change is common. In Indo-European a **tlep-* for **klep-* must have established itself locally before the *satəm*-changes took place if the *k* here is the normal IE. palatal (as opposed to *śru* < *k̑lu-*): on the other hand, O Pruss. *auklipts* 'hidden' suggests that we have here the same *k-* as in Skt. *kraviṣ-* : Lat. *cruor* etc. In that case, we may have a special development of the pure velar *k* in the group *kl*, which is peculiar to Indo-Iranian.

4. Skt. *Srughna-*

Skt. *Srughna-* occurs in Sanskrit literature from Pāṇini onwards as the name of a town north of Hastināpura. It is identified with the modern *Sugh* in the Ambala District, Punjab. An alternative form is *Śrughna-* with a palatal *ś*. There is a tendency for *s* and *ś* to be confused in combination with *r* particularly, in the North-West. The text of the Ṛgveda has √*śru* 'to flow' and *śravas-* 'stream', and the Atharvaveda offers *saṃśrutam* for *saṃsrutam*. Even if we correct with Bloomfield (JAOS. 13 p. cxx) to *sru-* etc., the readings still testify to local habits of pronunciation. That a tendency to pronounce *sr* as *śr* was very old is suggested by some Avestan forms : we find, for instance, Av. *θraotah-* 'stream', and *sraxti-*, *θraxti-*, 'edge', and these forms seem to point to old variants **śrautas-*, **śrakti-* beside Skt. *srotas-*, *srakti-*. In this case the tendency is as old as the Indo-Iranian period and the Vedic forms mentioned above are to be regarded as genuine variants and not the mistakes of modern copyists or reciters. Later, in the North-West, we find forms like *viśravatena* in the Kharoṣṭhi. Dhammapada and Buddhist Sanskrit forms like *śrotas-* 'stream' show the same tendency. Similarly Skt. √*śrank* in the Dhātupāṭha meaning 'to go, move, creep' has a variant √*sraṅk* and a comparison with other languages shows that the latter form is original : Lith. *slenkù* 'slink' etc.

This being the case, it would obviously not be possible to decide whether *Srughna-* or *Śrughna-* was the original form without the help of etymology. Taking *Śrughna-*, as original, an etymology can be provided with the help of Iranian. The word is clearly a compound containing *ghna-* from the root √*han* as its second element. The first element *śru-* can be compared with Av. *srū* 'horn, nail,' Pers. *surū* 'horn', Bal. *srunbē* 'hoof'. The meaning, 'blow of a horn (or hoof)' would be suitable for some natural feature in the locality which might bear some such impression. Otherwise *śru-*, 'horn' etc. is not preserved in Indo-Aryan. It must have become obsolete between the period of the first invasion and the composition of the Ṛgveda.

5. Skt. *āhlādayati* : Av. *āγzrāδyeiti*

An Avestan *γzrāδ* occurs in one passage (Yt. 8, 31) which describes the surging of the turbulent waters of the sea, Vourukaša : *hō zrayō āγzrāδayeiti, hō zrayō vīγzrāδayeiti, hō zrayō āγžārayeiti, ho zrayo vīγžārayeiti.* Av. *γzrāδ-* here is an extension of the root *γžar-* = √*kṣar*. With it we can compare Skt. √*hlād* which means 'to refresh, revive.' The original

meaning of the Skt. word was 'to refresh or revive by pouring water on', and this is sufficiently clear from many passages in which the word is used : e. g. *hlādayāmāsa gharmārtaṃ salilair iva* ; *dāham adbhiḥ prahlādayasva me* etc. (see BR). The Sanskrit word is used with various prefixes, most commonly *ā*, and *āhlādayati* corresponds exactly to Av. *āγzrāδayeiti*. The form is exactly the same, but in Avestan it is used in a frequentative, in Skt. a causative sense. The long *ā* is the long vowel of the causative (cf. Skt. *pātayati* etc.), and the Skt. root should strictly appear as √*hlad* (√*hrad*). The short vowel appears in *hradas*- 'lake' from this root.

The form is not unexpected in Sanskrit. A tendency to simplify complicated consonant groups is already in evidence in the earliest Indo-Aryan : Skt. *tiṣya*- : Av. *tištrya*-; Skt. *tvaṣṭā* : Av. *θwōrəštar*-; Skt. *bhakta*- 'food' : *bhakṣita*-. In this case an Aryan *gžhr*- has been simplified by loss of the sibilant, and the resulting **ghr*- has developed to *hr*-, *hla*-. Sporadic cases of *h* for voiced aspirates are already familiar in the Ṛgveda. Also the *l* for *r* indicates that the word may be a popular form.

6. Skt. *lakṣita*-: *Av. dexšta*-

No suitable etymology has so far been propounded for Skt. √*lakṣ* The Ṛgveda has only nominal forms : *lakṣá*-, *lákṣman*-, *lakṣmī* 'meaning 'mark, sign, etc.' Verbal forms (*lakṣate*, *lakṣayati*) are not found until much later and are obviously denominative in origin. An etymology would appear to be provided by some Avestan words which have the same meaning : *daxšāra*- 'mark, sign, token', *daxšta*- 'mark, sign, etc,' *daxštavant*- 'having a sign, (on the body),' *fradaxšta*- 'marked with a sign'. The meanings are identical, and the relation of the initial consonants is the same as that between Skt. *lipi*- 'writing' and OPers. *dipi*-. The change of *d* to *l* was a particular characteristic of Eastern Iranian, that is to say, of those Iranians who were most immediately in contact with the Indo-Aryans. In the case of these words there are two possibilities: either the Skt. words are due to early borrowing from Eastern Iranian, or possibly the isogloss *l* > *d* may have extended at some time into the Indo-Aryan area, in which case the words are dialect words which have been adopted into the standard language (cf. Lat. *lacrima* etc). Ultimately the words are derived from √*dāh* 'to burn', the original meaning being a mark branded on the horns of cattle, sheep etc. Av. *daxša*- = Skt. *lakṣa*- still maintains the etymological sense of 'branding'. The relation of Av. *daxšta*- 'sign' to the Skt. participle *lakṣita*- is exactly the same as that between Skt. *bhakta*- 'food' (< **bhakṣta*-) and *bhakṣita*- 'eaten'.

7. Skt. *keśa*-: *Av. gaēsa*-

Skt. *késara*- 'hair, mane, etc.' is usually regarded as being etymologically connected with Lat. *caesaries*. The irregularity (*késara*-, not **keṣara*-) is explained away by assuming an intermediate form **kesra*- It is not however, possible to separate *késara*- from *kéśa*- 'hair', as for instance, Walde-Pokorny do (1, 328-9). The latter word has the palatal sibilant *ś*

and this appears frequently in the other word. Of the two variant forms, *kesara-* and *keśara-*, the latter must be the original form. For *keśa-*, *keśara-* no very convincing IE. etymology is to be found.

In this case it is perhaps reasonable to compare Av. *gaēsa-* 'curly hair,' and *gaēsav-* 'curly-haired'. The irregularity of the correspondence between the initial consonants is probably an indication that the word is borrowed from some non-Aryan source. We can compare with it such doublets in Sanskrit as *kulpha-* : *gulpha-* 'heel', and *karta-*: *garta-* 'hole'. where also foreign origin is to be suspected.

There is always a small residue of words in each language which for a variety of reasons defy the phonetic laws. Among other examples between Indo-Aryan and Iranian we may mention Skt. *dhanvan-* 'bow' : Av. *θanvan*, *θanvar-*, which in view of their identity of meaning as well as of formation cannot very well be separated from each other. In the case of Skt. *√cam* 'to sip' : Av. *šam-* the regular use of the prefix *ā* with the verb in both the languages shows that they belong together : in this case the irregularity is due to the words being of onomatopoeic origin. Another example that can be quoted is Skt. *√yāc* 'to ask' : Av. yās- : compare *√ruc* : *rúśat-*.

The equation Skt. *keśa-* : Av. *gaēsa-* may be reasonably regarded as an example of this residue. In support of it we may also notice Skt. *keśava-* 'having long or handsome hair', which with a thematic extension presents the same stem as Av. *gaēsav-*.

8. Skt. *bṛsī-*

Skt. *bṛsī-* 'cushion', is shown to be a foreign word by the occurrence of the dental s after the vowel *ṛ* as well as by the initial *b*, which except when dissimilated from an aspirate, is usually a sign of foreign origin. In this case the foreign source is to be found in Iranian. Corresponding to Skt. *√barh* in *barhiṣ-*, *upabarhaṇa-* etc., Iranian has *barz-* in Av. *barᵊziš-* 'cushion', Bal. *barzī* etc. Since Sanskrit has no z, another sound has to be substituted, and here *s* serves that purpose. As regards the vowel of the first syllable, it would be possible to reconstruct an Iranian **bṛzī* as the original, but it is better to base it on the attested forms and to look on *ṛ* for *ar* as one of the type of irregular changes which take place when words are borrowed from one language to another.

A Bundle of Pashai Etymologies[1].

By

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE, *Oslo*.

Pashai is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Afghanistan in the valleys north of the Kabul river. It is split up into a large number of widely different dialects[2]. Among the western dialects are those of Laurowān in the Tagan (L)[3], of Gulbahar, near Charikar (G), of Özbin (Ö) and Najil (Nj). Further east we find the dialects of Laghman (Lgh.) and Kachur-i Sala (KS) and, in the Kunar District, of Darra-i- Nur (DN) and Wegal (W). A north-eastern group is formed by the dialects of Aret (A) Chilas (Ch.) and Kuṛangal (K).

One of the distinguishing features of the various dialects is the different treatment of ancient groups of consonants+*r*. In G they remain more or less unchanged; in L *tr* and *dr* remain, while all groups with guttural or labial+*r* result in *l*, and in Ö we find *ṣ* from *kr, pr*. In DN etc., all groups with voiced stop result in *l*, and all with unvoiced stop in unvoiced *lh*. In A not only *pr* but also *kr* develops into *pl*, but *gr* into *ȣl* (*ȣlom* 'village')[4].

Since the Pathan occupation of the lower Kabul Valley, Pashai has, many centuries, been cut off from the main body of Indo-Aryan languages. It has, however, preserved a number of ancient words unknown to or sparsely represented in other modern IA tongues. Some of these are probably original *tatsamas*, being adopted from Sanskrit while the Pashais still belonged to the common Hindu-Buddhist civilization which flourished in the Kabul valley[5].

1. In this article, *r̥* stands for ऋ and *ṛ* represents a distinct consonantal cerebral akin to *ḷ*.

2. Cf. the author's ***Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*** (Olso; 1926) pp. 84 ff, and ***Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*** (Olso, 1932, pp. 21 ff.

3. Unmarked Pashai words belong to the dialect of L.

4. This ȣ is very faintly articulated. cf. the description of the S'enṭi *ḷ* in Varma's : "*The Dialects of the Khasālī Group*' pp. 3, 21. We are reminded of the development of similar groups into *ṭl*, ḍ (h).*l*. etc., in Bhadharwahi and others of the highly interesting W Pahāri dialects among which Professor Siddheshwar Varma has done such excellent and most valuable pioneer work.

5. A vocabulary of Pashai dialects with etymological notes will be published by the ***Norvegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture***, but the printing may be delayed owing to the conditions created by five years of ruthless occupation and plundering. A volume of Pashai texts and translations has been published by the Institute in 1944, as Vol. III., 2 of the Series :***Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages***' and a grammar is in preparation.

(In the meantime, I hope, Professor Siddheshwar Varma will accept this miscellany of Pashai etymologies and queries as a cordial greeting from an ancient outpost of the Indian world, and from a friend and admirer in faraway *Uttarāpatha*—if it is permissible to use this literal translation of the name of Norway.)

aböī L, *ab'ui* G, *Awē* DN. etc. 'flour', Skt. *apūp(ī)ya.* ;—only in Pashai, but *aū* 'bread' < *apūpa-* has parallels in other Dard and Kafir languages.
aṅgī 'root' < cf. Skt. *aṅghri-?* But *ghr* regularly > *l*.
awaṅgān 'desolate (about a mountain)' <**a-pantha-ka-ān* ?
āč 'full, filled' <**ā-tatya-*, cf. Skt. *ā-tata-* 'spread, extended, penetrated'.
'āsək m. L *osk(a)* G, *osik* A, etc., 'ashes' < Shum. *āsik*, Kati, Waigeli, Prasun. *ãsə*, etc.; Gawar-Bati *sāgo* ; Skt. *ása-* (AV; S'at. Br.).
ār m. L, *āl* KS, *āš* DN. etc., *oelh* Kṛ, *ošt* Chi *ostr* A 'blood', - < **āsr* -, Skt. *asṛk*, cf. Prasun *usü* < **asan-*. The other Kafir and Dard languages have either the *rakta-* (East) or the *lohita-* type (West +Shina).
eng'āin Kṛ 'wind' < cf. Skt. *iṅgana-* '*shaking*'.
īr m. L, etc. 'clear sky'.—Phaluṛa *bīdri*, Jaunsari *bidrī*, Kshm. *vẹdᵃr* f. go back to Skt. *vīdhr(i)ya-*, **vīdhrā-*. But Khowar *yudur* (cf. *yuru* 'vein' < *hirā-*) and, in Iranian, Ossetic *ird* are derived from **id(h)ra-*, cf. also a Yidgha *lə'roɣo* < **idrakā-*. It is tempting to derive also Pash. *īr* (borr. into Parachi *īra*); Kati, Waigeli īr(ə) from this form, but the development of *dhr* would be irregular.
ōnǰ- L, *ēž-* Kṛ, etc. 'to wash'. Skt, *ava-nij*.
opuṛ- L, G 'to dig up' Dameli *opərāy-* 'to pull out'; Parachi (from Pashai) *hupẹṛ* 'to dig.' Skt. *ut-pāṭaya-* 'to eradicate, pull out.' We should expect Pashai **upāṛ-*.
or'ač m. L, etc. 'sleep' < **av-ratya-* from **ava-ram* (Skt. only in *ava-rati-* 'stopping, ceasing' cf. *an-ava-rata-*). Regarding the suffix, cf. s. v. *āč*. Khowar *oroi*. 'sleep' < *ava-rati-*.
ucum[1] f. (?), L, etc., *učīm* DN, etc., 'scorpion'.—Apparently < **vṛščuma-*; Skt. *vṛścana-*, *vṛścika-*, Nep. *bicchi* etc.
udr'ī f. L, *ulī* W 'snare made of horse-hair'. Skt. **ubdhrikā-*, cf. *ubh-* 'to lace together'.
uṇḍūk, 'gums', cf. Skt. *uṇḍūka-* (Suśr.) 'net, peritoneum'?
uč'uṇḍ 'jumping, dancing', Skt. *uccuṇḍa-* 'quick'.
uṇḍali, *uṇḍarek*, DN *uḍara* KS 'cat.' **uṇḍāla-*, **uḍḍāla-*, cf, Skt. *vi-*, *biḍāla-* ?
ūš G 'cold' < cf. Bashk. *oš* 'ice' <-*avaśyā-*.
baǰ- 1) L, G 'to get tired'; 2) DN, W 'to become stiff; to coagulate, freeze'; Skt. *badhya-*, cf. Shina *baž-* 'to freeze', Lhd., etc. *baddhā* 'tried (Nep. Dict., s.v. *bājhnu*). But 1) perhaps contaminated with Skt. bādhya- 'to be vexed' etc.
baṅgyan'ī L, *baṅgén* W 'husband's brother's wife'; < *baṅg*—cf. Skt. *bhāma(ka)-* 'sister's husband (*Lex.* and *Bhāg.* P.)?—V. s. v. *sāṅg-*.

1. Č is a dental affricate=*ts*.

blām'ur A, *lāmbəl-brak* Kr 'lightning', < **bhramara-*, **bhram(b)al-*, cf. Skt. *bhrama-* 'a whirling flame', with *-brak* cf. Guj. *bhaḍku* 'blaze'? cf. also Gawar-Bati *lāme-čulik* 'lightning' < **bhrama-*.

blos'on A 'curse, oath', < **bhratsana-* < Skt. *bhartsana-*.

čāska L, etc. 'hare,' < **chāsaka-*, cf. W. Pah. Jaunsari *chas'ā*, Skt. *śasa-*. A variation between *ś-* and *ch-* is well known, but why *s* < *ś-*? Possibly dissimilation of two palatals?

chel'āk L, *ṣel'ēk* DN, etc. 'white'; *chēl-dār'ī* L, *ṣel-d'ār* W 'grey-bread'. A variation between *ch-* and *ṣ-* occurs also in *chīr* L, *ṣīr* W 'milk'; *chā* L, *ṣē* W 'six'; possibly **kṣairya-*'milky', but why *l*?

√*chap* 'to be worn out'; Skt. √*kṣap*, Nep. Dict, s.v. *khapnu*.

drām(-əm) A '(my) friend', Skt. *dharmin-* 'pious > friendly'?

gōn'ās f. L, *gōn'āč* DN, etc. 'snake'; Skt. *gonasa-*, Kshm. *gunas* f.; cf. Psht. (LW) *gosṇ'a* 'a kind of snake'; Khas'ālī group *gu'ṇa*, *guṇs*, etc. (Ś Varma: *The Dialects of the Kh. Group*, p. 57).

hlāng W, etc. 'he-goat', Skt. *prāṇaka-* 'animal'; cf. Gawar-Bati *plang* 'goats (collective)'

√*ǰas* L, √*ǰēs* G 'to laugh', Skt. √*jāhas*; but √*azh* DN etc. < √*has*.

√ǰupā DN, etc. 'to build, make, prepare', Skt. vy-ut√pādi cf. Dameli √*župāy* etc.

kar'ār L, DN, *kar'āl* Lgh, *xar'ār* W, etc. 'wolf', cf. Phalura *karāru*, Skt. *karāla-* (< **-ḍa-*?) 'formidable, dreadful' (e. g. *karāla-daṃṣṭra-* 'having terrific teeth') W etc. *x-* < *kh-*.

kašmīr A, *kašpīr* DN 'n. of a fruit-bearing tree,' Psht. *mōmāṇāi* 'Śageretia Oppositifolia', cf. Shumasht (dial. of Gawar-Bati) *kāčur*, Skt. *kāśmīra-* 'n. of various plants.'

kawār W 'small piece, fragment, bit', Skt. *kaparda-* 'small shell' (*Nep. Dict.* s. v. *kauṛī*).

kēwala L, etc. 'alone', Skt. *kevala-*, Dameli *k'ewal*.

kiṣelmāl'ī L, *kiṣehmel'ī* DN, etc. 'Jasmine, sweet Basil (=*naumālī*); Skt. *kṛṣṇa-mālli̇kā-*, *°māluka-*; Ashk. *kašmalī*,*-ū*; Psht. (LW) *kašmālū*, *-naumālī* < Skt. *navamallikā-*.

kōlāl (a) L, *kulāl'ā* DN, W 'potter', Skt. *kulāla-*. Ved. *kaulāla-*, Kshm, *krāl*, but no other modern IA forms.

kundale'ī 'vine', Skt. *kuntalikā-* 'n. of a plant,' *kuntala-* 'hair.'

kuṛ'ā m. 'tree', Skt. *kuṭa-* 'tree' (Lex.), cf. Parachi (LW) *kōr* 'stick', *koṛīn* 'wooden'.

kusəl'ī W, etc. 'wooden cornbin,', Skt. *kusūla-*.

lašanī W 'beautiful', Skt. *darśanīya-*.

lāk L *ṣōk* Ö 'palm of the hand', < **prāk* (cf. *lahār* L, *ṣawōr* Ö 'wound' < *prahāra-*), possibly < **prathu-ka-*, cf. *peṛek* DN. etc. < **pṛṛhu-ka-*.

lāndi 'point of a knife', Skt. **prāntikā-*, cf. *prānta-* 'point, tip (of blade of grass)'.

√*lās* 'to play a trick upon, deceive'; Skt. √*las* 'to play, sport'.

√*lēl* L, √*prēl* G 'to herd, tend cattle'; Skt. *pra*√*īr* 'to set in motion, drive forwards' with different semantic development √*hlēl* W 'to stretch out the hand'.

lēn'ī L' *l'āni* Kṛ 'noon' (Prs. *garmī*), **ghraniṣa-* (with reg. loss of -ṣ-) cf. Khow *graniš* 'noon'.

lūnč 'kite' (?), Skt. (Lex.) *krauñca-* 'osprey'.

lūnd L, *krūm* Ö (acc. to L), *kundūr* G (< **kurūnd* ?), *sōnd* Lghm, *hlōn* DN etc. *hlund* Chi., *plen(d)* A 'roof'. Apparently < *krūm-t-* or **krōm-t-*, cf. Ashkun *kr'um*, *klōm*, etc., from Skt. *kūrma-* 'tortoise' (cf. semantically Latin *testudo*) with a secondary *t-* suffix in Pashai.

mačaṛī 'corpse', cf. Skt. *martya-*.

√*manj* L, etc. √*banǰ* Ks 'to put on clothes, to dress oneself', Skt. *upa*√*muc*, cf. Khow √*anǰ* < *ā*√*muc*.

-maṅgal, only in *trā cār- maṅgal* etc. 'on the third, fourth, etc. day hence', originally meaning 'on the third, etc., day of good omen' (cf. Skt. *maṅgala-*) ?

mastr'ak A, *mahl'ak* Kṛ, etc. 'brain', cf. Skt. *mastaka-*, Dameli *maštak*, etc. but, with *r*, Av. *mastrəɣan-*, Ormuṛī *mastrəɣ*.

parih'ār 'exile, refugee', Skt. *parihāra-* 'giving up, resigning, shunning.'

parāṛ L, *par'āl* W, etc., *parwāl'ī* Nj 'apple', Skt. *pāṭala-* 'pink, Bignonia suaveolens', cf. Kalasha *palou* (*palāl-*), but Ashk. *pala*, etc. Shina *phalā* < Skt. *phala-*.

phālgūn 'the second month of autumn (!) when half the harvest has been brought home', Skt. *phālguna-* 'February-March'. Note the change of meaning, also *bādrau* 'first winter month (!) and *paūṣ* 'second winter month' are ancient Tatsamas.

plīeu A, *hlīu* Kṛ, Chi 'fat, grease', < **prīv-* < *pīvra-*, Skt. *pīvara-*, cf. the phonetical deplopment in Bhadarwāhī *ḍlebu* 'husband's younger brother' < **dreb-* < **devr-* < Sk. *devara-*.

plōwo, *plābō* A 'dream'; < *(s)prāpa* < **svăpra-*; cf. Kalasha *isprāp*, etc.

√*puṣ* W 'to sprinkle', Skt. √*pṛṣ*.

pu(ṣ)ṭhī aṅguṛī f. 'thumb', cf. Kshm *pūṭh* 'stout' < Skt. *puṣṭa*.

pūr L 'bonfire (?)', W 'burning embers', *pōr* DN, < **pūra* or **pāvara-*, cf. Shumashti *pōr*.

ṛāndā 'large, poisonous spider'; Skt. *vṛnta*(ka)- 'a small, crawling animal; caterpillar'.

√ṛeken L. √ligin Kṛ etc. 'to sell', *vrikin- < Skt. vi√krī, cf. also ṛakaṭī 'kidney' < *vrakka-, Skt. vṛkka.-

sabar'ī f. DN 'pregnant', Skt. *sa-bhārikā-

sal'āp DN, sēhlāb W 'with young (about animals.)'; *sagrabb- < Sk. sagarbhā-.

sāṅg 'ground, earth, floor.' *sāmaka-, Skt. sama- 'flat.'; while -aka- usually results in -ā, we find some cases of contraction into -g after a nasal or liquid (e.g. šūng 'dog' wārg 'water.)'

šāp L, sāp W 'curse', Skt. s'apva- or as early Tatsama < s'āpa-.

√šār L. etc. 'to go', Skt. (Dhp.) √s'aṭ

šēl DN sēhl W, sēitr A, 'knife, dagger', Skt. s'astrī-.

ṣač'a L., etc. 'wrist (ankle)', Waigeli. ṣačā, Kshm ho "; apparently < *s'racya- connected with Skt. s'lakaṣṇ- 'smooth, thin, fine?', semantically cf. Psht. məṛwand 'wrist' < *mṛdu-banda - ?

trin 'grass, hay', Skt. tṛṇa.-

wāi m. L, etc. 'house', Skt. vāsa-. Intervocalic sibilants are frequently dropped in Pashai. Eastern Pashai has gōšiṅ etc.' somehow connected with Phaluṛa ghoṣṭ, etc. < Skt. goṣṭha -

wei etc. 'daughter', wiyā-m 'my daughter' etc. point to ancient final -ā. Probably with w- < *dw-, from *dwiyā < du(h)itā-.

wāgan m. Lgh, etc. waɣan DN, W, etc. 'wind-', *vahad-gandha-, cf. Skt. gandha-vaha-.

√wānd L, G 'to build, arrange, construct', Skt. upa √bandh.

wan'īš L 'steel', wāneš DN. etc. 'rasp, file'; somehow connected with Singh. vāṇē 'steel' ?

waranǰāk L, etc., warawunǰik A 'ant'. Probably < varmǐ- < varmicī; Skt. valmīka-.

√wer L etc. √wir A, √ir(ay) Kṛ 'to weep'; *viroai, Skt. viroditi.

weṣan'ek W 'comb'; ancient LW from Ir. *fšanek, cf. Pskt. ẓmanǰ wžanǰ < *fšan-čī

werembū DN. etc. 'Walnut'; cf Skt. varambarā- 'Nux Vomica?'

wəst L, etc. 'twenty'; not borr. from Iranian, but with s't, > st, in secondary contact.

√wienḍ 'to flay'; Skt. vi-kṛnta-.

wiyāl L etc. 'night', Skt.' vikāla- 'evening'; cf. Lower Rudhārī bial 'early night,' etc.

žāmalī L; yambalā Kun 'plough-bullock'; yamelā DN. 'ploughing.'. Skt. yǎmala- 'paired, double'.

√žuk 'to fit, suit (e.g. as a shoe)' denom. from *yukna-, Skt. yukta-

žūtr f. L., etc. 'hair, mane, goat's hair'; Skt. yoktra- 'rope (> strnad)' ?

SECTION II

Vedic and Avestic Studies

Textual Imperfections of the extant Ṛgveda

By

V. M. APTE, *Dharwar.*

A study of the successive ritual settings of the *Ṛgveda Mantras* repeated in the later *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya Sūtras* reveals the interesting fact, well-known to Vedic scholars that the latter texts often present the *Ṛgveda Mantras* in a verse-and hymn-order and juxtaposition, which differ from those in the extant *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*. What is probably not fully realised is the far-reaching significance of the further revelation that these differences do not merely reflect the needs of the ritual which are, indeed, admirably served by them but also represent in many cases, a far more natural and satisfactory compilation of the *Mantras* from the point of view of their deity or subject-matter. The cases are so many in number and so glaring, that one is almost tempted to bring out a better version of the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* than that offered by the extant recension of the *Śākalaka* School. It is the purpose of this paper to mention a few out of the many convincing cases of this type which almost incline one to believe that *as early as the age of the later Saṃhitās, there probably existed a recension of the Ṛgveda for ritual use, which was superseded by the only canonical text, preserved for us now, in the Śākalaka Śākhā.*

1.

A hymn of three stanzas in the extant *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*- VII, 54 is sacred to *Vāstoṣpáti*, a tutelary deity of the house. Now, in the immediately following hymn—VII, 55 consisting of eight verses, the first verse alone is devoted to the praise of this same deity. These verses are four out of the seven passages in which the name *Vāstoṣpáti* occurs These four only are distinctive in their description of the deity, the remaining three being not very typical. On the face of it, it strikes us as rather odd that the verse VII, 55, 1 though sacred to *Vāstoṣpáti* should be found separated from the three *Vāstoṣpáti* verses of the immediately preceding hymn, VII, 54 and appear as the opening verse of a hymn which according to the *Anukramaṇī* is sacred to Indra. It has numerous points of contact with the preceding three verses. It contains the invocatory word *Vāstoṣpate* which occurs in each of the three preceding verses. For the *anamīváḥ* 'unattended by disease' of 54, 1, it has *amīvahā* 'destroyer of disease'; for the *te sakhyé syāma* 'may we be in thy friendship' of 64, 2 and the *śagmáyā saṃsádā te* 'in the suspicious fellowship' of 54, 3, it has *sákhā suśéva edhi naḥ* 'be our auspicious friend'. The whole verse, in fact, is redolent of the atmosphere

of hymn 54, in thought and expression. Further, verse 55, 1, stands completely isolated in its hymn, 55, the remaining verses of which differ from it in their metre, deity and subject-matter. ! Tradition describes these latter verses (55, 2-8) as *prasvāpinaḥ* 'inducing sleep', because, as Sāyaṇa tells us, they were employed by Vasiṣṭha on the occasion of his nocturnal visit to Varuṇa's house to put the inmates and the watch-dog to sleep. Although not much significance may be attached to this tradition, there is no doubt that the verses speak of an earthly house in which a lover (*not* a thief) desiring to force his entry at night seeks to *lull to sleep* the watch-dog and the inmates of the house — the father, the mother, the women of the house, the kinsmen, the master and the people round about—*who may happen to be awake*. It would be extremely fanciful to suppose that there is a connection between 55, 1 and the rest of the 55th hymn because, the lover about to insinuate himself into the house (vv. 2-8) seeks to put himself in the good books of *Vāstoṣpati*, the presiding spirit of the house, through verse 1. The whole hymn (VII, 55) again, with the exception of the first (the *Vāstoṣpáti*) verse bears numerous marks of a later origin, as Oldenberg (Noten II, 42) has shown, such as the *sandhi*, *sástv ayám* in v. 5, the words *sárvāḥ* and *pūṇyá*—in v, 8 and the treatment of the syllables 5-8 in the Anuṣṭubh hemistichs. Besides, in the Atharvaveda IV, 5. where a large portion of this hymn is repeated, the first verse does not occur.

We can understand, of course, the reasons that probably led the author of the *Saṃhitā-pāṭha* to separate the verse, 55, 1, from the very closely allied group of the three verses of the immediately preceding 54th hymn : (1) The metre of 55, 1 is *Gāyatrī* whereas that of 54, 1-3 is *Triṣṭubh* ; but the same difference of metre should disqualify it for being grouped with 55, 2-8, as 2-4 are in the *Upariṣṭādbṛhatī* metre and 5-8 are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre: (2) The word *Vāstoṣpate* stands *first* in each of the three verses, 54, 1-3, whereas it stands *second* in 55, 1. This is too trival and superficial a difference, to justify the separation: (3) An important reason that was probably decisive with the compiler, is that the characteristic hymn refrain of the Maṇḍala: *yūyám pāta* etc., occurs at the end of v, 3 of hymn 54, which therefore could not admit of the addition of 55, 1 after its refrain verse. It may be pointed out, however, that hymn 55 also lacks the refrain and that there are, in all, nearly 26 hymns in the seventh Maṇḍala not ending with the refrain, namely: 2, 5, 6, 10, 15-18, 31-33, 38, 44, 49, 50, 52, 59, 66, 74, 82, 83, 89, 94, 96, 102 and 103. To the objection that if 55, 1 had been incorporated in hymn 54 at the end, the refrain-verse would have lost its concluding position, the answer would be that similar is the case with the refrain-verse 20th of the first hymn of the seventh Maṇḍala, such composite hymns being not rare in the *Saṃhitā*. *But above all, the difficulty could have been got over by making* 55, 1 *the opening verse of hymn* 54, *which then would haue consisted of four verses with the refrain-verse at the end*, an arrangement actually, found

in the *Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra* II, 11, 19, which employs the *Vástoṣpáti*-verses liturgically, as will be seen hereafter.

Before we turn to an examination of the repetitions of these four *Vástoṣpáti* verses in the literature of the ritual, beginning with the other *Saṁhitās* and ending with the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, for evidence of a better grouping of them, we may cite the valuable testimony of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, which describes the two *Rgveda* hymns VII, 54 and 65 very significantly. It says (VI, 2): *vāstoṣpatyāś catasrastu sapta prasvāpinyaḥ smṛtāḥ* and thus divides the eleven verses of the two hymns into two homogeneous groups, namely the group: VII, 54, 1-3; 55, 1 characterised appropriately as (the group of) 'four sacred to *Vástoṣpáti*' and the group VII, 55, 2-8 titled aptly as (the group of) 'seven soporific' (verses). Thus the peculiar subject-matter of verses 55, 2-8, and their magical significance was well understood by the *Bṛhaddevatā* and also by the *Ṛgvidhāna*, which styles (II, 26, 5) the Sūkta, VII, 55 as *prasvāpanam* 'inducing sleep'.

Turning to the evidence of the ritual literature, we find that the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 1, 5, 13 cites the two verses 54, 1 and 55, 1, *in the changed order* : 55, 1. *and* 54, 1, at an offering to *Vástoṣpáti*, by one who is going on a journey with his whole family. Evidently 54, 1 does duty for all the three verses: 54, 1-3. *Here, then is indicated a more sensible order of grouping for the Vástoṣpáti verses.* The *Mānava-Śrauta-Sūtra* *1*, 6, 3, 1, has the pratīka: *Vāstoṣpate* very probably standing for the whole hymn VII, 54 and 55, 1 *together* in the same context. Among the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, the *Sāṅkhāyana*, III, 4, 8, recommends the recitation of the four verses VII, 54, 1-3 and VII, 55, 1 *in unbroken succession*, to accompany the offering of *four* oblations to the domestic fire on the occasion of the formal occupation of the newly-built house. The manner of the reference: '*Vástoṣpate*' *iti tisraḥ, amīvahā vāstoṣpate* etc. shows that the *Sūtra* was aware of the hymn-arrangement in the extant *Saṁhitā*. The *Āśvalāyana- Gṛhya-Sūtra* II, 9, 9, has the rule :—'The performer of the ceremony (next) cooks a *sthālīpāka*, in the middle of the *new* house and sacrifices of it with the *four* verses beginning with *Ṛgveda* VII, 54, 1, verse by verse, as if, blissfully unaware of the fact that the hymn VII, 54 has only *three* verses. Even Sāyaṇa who gives the *viniyoga* of the hymn by quoting from the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra* either does not notice the fact or deliberately ignores it, taking it for granted that the immediately following verse in the next hymn sacred as it is to *Vástoṣpáti* must constitute the fourth verse. In a similar context, the *Āpastamba-Mantrapāṭha* II, 15, 18-21, has the four verses in the order 54, 1-3 and 55, 1. The *Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra* actually quotes the four verses 54, 1-3, 55, 1, *in extenso* in the *Saṁhitā* order, in the same context. The *Mānava-Gṛhya-Sūtra*, II, 11, 19, however, gives the four verses in the *most suitable* order, namely: 55, 1, 54, 1-3, *an order which (as we saw above) does not disturb the usual position of the refrain found in* 54, 3.

2

It is well-known that the so-called *Khilas* (*khila*, literally means a 'supplement') were collected and added to the Saṁhitā after the latter had assumed a completed form. Although on the whole, they represent a later stratum of Ṛgvedic poetry, the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the *Khilas* were as old at least as some of the late hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, as for example, those in portions of the later Maṇḍalas like the tenth. The *Vālakhilya*, a group of hymns found in all manuscripts at the end of the eighth Maṇḍala seems to have been given the benefit of this doubt. The eleven *Suparṇa* hymns, the *Praiṣa* hymns and the prose *Nivids* (small collections of sacrifical litanies) are also suspected to possess the same *comparatively* high antiquity, as the *Vālakhilya* hymns by some scholars like Winternitz[1].

If we examine the different groupings and juxtapositions of repeated *Ṛgvedic* hymns and verses, in the literature of the ritual, many other *Khilas*, which claim *this border-line position of equal antiquity with the later portions of the Ṛgveda can be unearthed.* I take but one example of this type, which must have sorely tried the judgment of the author of the extant Saṁhitā, who (it seems) could not derive definite guidance from a not quite consistent tradition. The *Bṛhaddevatā* VII, 44-45, which reckons the hymn beginning with *āyuṣyam* as a *Khila Sūkta* after *Ṛgveda* X, 128, gives the clue. If we consult the second edition of Muller's *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* Vol. IV (1892), we find that on page 536, *arvāñcam indram* etc. is printed as a *Khila consisting of a single verse*, immediately after X, 128, followed by another *Khila* hymn, the first verse of which opens with the word *āyuṣyam* and which is the same as the *Khila* referred to by the *Bṛhad-devatā*. This means either that the *Bṛhaddevatā* does not recognise the single-verse *Khila* hymn beginning which *arvāñcam indram* or that it looks upon this single verse as part of the preceding hymn : X, 128 which (according to it) was not a *nine-verse* hymn but a *ten-verse* hymn, so that the *Khila*, *āyuṣyam* could be described by it as immediately following X, 128. That the latter alternative hits the mark is borne out by the repetitions of the RV. hymn X, 128 in ritual literature. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* knows the hymn X, 128 very well, designating it (in III, 1, 7, 3) as '*Vihavya*' because of the word, *vihaveṣu* ('in conflicts') in the first verse and adding that it was revealed to Jamadagni, who thereby appropriated the power of his rival.

The same *Saṁhitā* in IV, 7, 14, 1-3, has all the nine verses of *Ṛgveda* hymn : X, 128, divided into three *tṛcas* followed by *arvāñcam indram* etc. Similarly the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* 40, 10, has all the nine verses of the hymn X, 128, *followed without break by arvāñcam indram etc.* Hymn V, 3 of the *Atharvaveda* again, contains exactly these ten verses in the

1. *A History of Indian Literature,* P. 60. (Authorised English Translation, University of Calcutta, 1927).

same order but split up into eleven verses, the nine verses of *Ṛgveda* X, 128 being turned into *ten* by expanding the fifth verse into two. That a very early ritual tradition thus definitely accepted the verses '*arvâñcam índram*' as canonical and as constituting the regular tenth verse of the *Ṛgveda* hymn X, 128 and did not look upon it as a *Khila* as the extant *Saṃhitā* would have it, is further confirmed by the peculiar manner of the liturgical employment of the *Ṛgveda* hymn X, 128, under the pratīka, *mámāgne várcaḥ* in the *Gṛhya-Sūtras* of *Āśvalāyana* (III, 9, 2) and *S'āṅkhāyana* (III, 4. 8), in the context of the ceremony of *samāvartana.* The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra (III. 9, 2) says that the snātaka puts fuel-sticks (on the fire) with the hymn *Ṛgveda* X, 128, *one fuel-stick to the accompaniment of each verse.* Now Nārāyaṇa, the commentator of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya- Sūtra* says that *ten* pieces of wood must be offered and that as X, 128 has only nine verses, a verse from the following *Khila* hymn, beginning with *arvâñcam índram* must be recited after the hymn! So Nārāyaṇa supplies us with the valuable piece of information from tradition, that *ten* pieces of wood were to be offered with the verses of the hymn X, 128 and he was puzzled, because the extant *Saṃhitā* text assigns *nine* verses only to that hymn. But as we have seen above, the *Taittirīya*, *Kāṭhaka* and *Atharvaveda* *Saṃhitās* clearly establish the prevalence of a tradition which assigned *ten* verses to the hymn X, 128, the tenth verse being the one which the editor of the *Śākalaka Saṁhitā* did not accept as part of the canonical text of the *Ṛgveda* and which he therefore permitted to be relegated to the *Khila* group.

3.

The *Ṛgveda* hymn VI, 47, which on the face of it, looks like the appendage of an original collection, comes next under our suspicion. Several pieces can be detected in it, which look like separate hymns. As Oldenberg (*Noten*) points out, 1-10 looks like a *śastra* for the mid-day pressing of the Soma (cf. v, 6: *madhyandine savane*) special to Indra; 11-13 are verses suitable for a festival, somewhat of the nature of the *Sautrāmaṇī* rite (cf. *sutrâmā* in verses 12 and 13 and *trātâram* in v, 11 with *sutrâmā* in X, 131, 6-7); 14-21 contain the praise of Indra, calling special attention to his readiness to condescend to help even the meanest among his devotees; 22-25 is a *dāna-stuti.* So far, we can understand the unity of subject-matter, namely the usual Indra-Soma association, through the mid-day pressing and through the *Sautrāmaṇī* rite, with the natural shift of emphasis, finally on the greatness of Indra. What, however, is the relevance of 26-31 out of which 26-28 are in praise of a war-chariot and 29-31 praise a war-drum? Oldenberg (*Noten*) suggests that the threads of subject-unity may be traced *somehow* by assuming that the opening *śastra* suits an impending battle and anticipates the battle-charm in 26-31. This, however, is rather an *apologia* for the very apparent lack of subject-unity. If we now apply to this hymn the test of liturgi-

cal employment in ritual literature, we get the following illuminating results:—

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (=TS.) has in its chapter III, 6, 6, the general context of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, but as an offensive and defensive battle has always to be provided for in that sacrifice, for guarding the horse from the hostile attentions of any king whose territory it may happen to encroach upon, in its unfettered roamings, sections 1-5 of TS. IV, 6, 6, repeat all *the first fourteen verses of the Ṛgveda hymn* VI, 75, to accompany the putting on, of the armour by the king and the preparation and equipment of his war-chariot. *Then in the same context follow the Ṛgveda verses* VI, 47, 26-31 in TS. IV, 6, 6, 6-7. Exactly in the same manner (i. e. in the same order and context) does the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* XXIX, 38-57 present the two groups of *Ṛgveda* verses: VI, 75, 1-14 and VI, 47, 26-31, in close juxtaposition. Similarly the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* III, 6, 13, has *Ṛgveda* VI, 75, 1-7 followed immediately by VI, 47, 26-31 and the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (*Aśvamedha-grantha*), has *Ṛgveda* VI, 75, 1-8 followed by 47, 26-31. Among the *Śrauta-Sūtras*, the *Mānava* (IX, 2, 3) and *Āpastamba* (XX, 16, 4) have the pratīka *jīmūtasyeva* standing for the *Ṛgveda* hymn VI, 75, immediately followed by verses from VI, 47, 26-31.

The lesson of *this deliberate grouping together* of verses which, in the extant *Śākalaka Saṁhitā* of the *Ṛgveda* are found arranged in two separate hymns: the 47th and the 75th, is clear. The two groups of verses: VI, 75, 1-14 and 47, 26-31 have an essential unity of subject-matter, namely, 'preparation for war'. Thus, the group 26-31 which as a battle-charm hangs so loose in VI, 47, gets into its proper place, when placed by the side of the 'battle-charm'—verse of VI, 75. There are other links also which confirm this more harmonious grouping. The *Bṛhaddevatā* tells us that Pāyu (which is the name of a poet—a Bhāradvāja) who receives gifts according to *Ṛgveda* VI, 47, 24 helped Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna and Prastoka Sārñjaya by consecrating their weapons with the hymn, VI, 75. So both Pāyu and his patron Prastoka Sārñjaya (mentioned in VI, 47, 25) become the connecting links for the two hymns, VI, 47 and 75. Again, VI, 47, 22-25 is a *dāna-stuti* to Prastoka Sārñjaya who gave gifts to Pāyu and Pāyu is the *ṛṣi* 'seer', of VI, 75, the verses of which are more *naturally* grouped in the literature of the ritual with 47, 26-31, immediately following the *dāna-stuti* (22-25), in which Pāyu is named as a recipient of gifts.

There is thus far more than what meets the eye, in the *different* groupings of *Ṛgvedic* verses which ritual literature presents to us while repeating them for liturgical employment. If we now bear in mind the relative chronological position of the extant *Śākalaka Saṁhitā* and the other *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the significance of these groupings becomes all the more striking.

As Macdonell[1] observes, the definite statements as to the number of syllables in a word or a group of words that we meet with in the *Brāhmaṇas* show discrepancies with the extant *Saṁhitā* text, owing to the *sandhi* rules observed in the latter. So, it is a safe conclusion that the latter was completed *after* the period of (at least) the older *Brāhmaṇas.* The earlier groupings of *Ṛgvedic* verses and hymns, therefore, in the other *Saṁhitās* and older *Brāhmaṇas* may not be lightly superseded by those in the extant *S'ākalaka Saṁhitā.*

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 45-50 (London, 1913).

The meaning of ni√hnu in the Brāhmaṇas

By

JOHN BROUGH, *London.*

As is well known, the *Brāhmaṇas* give frequent explanations of the reasons for the performance of various ritual acts and utterances in the course of the sacrifice. Thus, for example, some acts serve for the appeasement of the anger of a deity (*śāntyai*), for continuity of the sacrifice (*saṃtatyai*), for preventing the slipping of the sacrifice (*aprasraṃsāya*), for the firm establishment of the sacrificer (*pratiṣṭhityai*), and so forth. A less frequent but interesting case is to be seen in the use of the verb *ni√hnu*. This has normally been translated 'propitiate, make amends', and if this were the true sense, it would be virtually a synonym for the common verb √*śam*. It seems probable, in fact, that in the later period the sense of the word did come to approximate to the sense of 'propitiate'; but an examination of the *Brāhmaṇa*-passages where it occurs, shows that originally the sense was quite distinct.

The root meaning of the verb √*hnu* is 'to hide, conceal,' and by depending too much on the literal sense, Haug, in his translation of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* was betrayed into the error of translating '*prastare nihnuvate*' by 'he (it should of course be plural) conceals the two bundles of kuśa grass' (*Ait, Br.* 1, 26 ; Haug, p. 58). In his valuable review of Haug's translation, Webar (*Indische Studien*, vol. ix. p. 221) pointed out that *prastare* in this passage was not acc. dual,. but loc. sg., and accordingly he translated : 'placing their hands on the *prastara*, they avoid (by means of this humble obeisance, all the evil results of the fact that before this they have gone towards the south, and so expiate the same)'. Similarly, Keith in his translation (p. 128) renders the phrase, 'They make their amends on the straw'. But after Weber, no one has discussed the word, nor asked how it has undergone such a surprising change of meaning. Thus Eggeling, for example, in his translation of the *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa* simply renders it 'propitiate', without any further discussion. Unfortunately, Weber (*Indische Studien*, ix. p. 317) interpreted the semantic development in rather a loose fashion : 'The root √*hnu* in the *Ātmanepada* means in the *Brāhmaṇas* 'to conceal oneself from someone (dat.) with something, (acc.), that is, 'to withdraw oneself from someone's sight (anger), so as to ask him for pardon, etc,' (*kṣamāpayāmi* commentary on *S'āṅkhāyana-S'rauta-Sūtra)* It is important to note, however, that the sense of the *Ātmanepada* is not normally reflexive. It is *a priori* unlikely that *nihnute* should mean 'he conceals himself'. Rather, it should mean, 'he conceals (something) for himself, for his own advantage'. Moreover, the accusative with which the word is construed (normally the neuter, *tad*, *etad*) can hardly mean 'with something'. The normal method of shelving the difficulty has been to omit the word in translation, so that

etat tasmai nihnute is rendered simply 'he propitiates him'; and the reader may if he chooses understand *etad* as an adverbial accusative, 'in respect of this matter', or else, 'by so doing'. Such a use of the accusative *etad* is of course one of the commenest features of the *Brāhmaṇa* style. But it is at least possible that in the cases in question it is the direct object of the verb. In fact, Weber himself seems to have taken this view in his edition of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (see below). However, in view of the frequency of the adverbial usage, it is in all probability the correct interpretation here.

A typical and very clear example occurs in the offerings to the Fathers which forms a part of the *Sākamedha*. The *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* in its discussion of the ceremony (1, 6, 9, 8) says: *āhavanīyam upatiṣṭhante: ny evāsmai tad dhnuvate, yat saty āhavanīye, athānyatra caranti*, 'They pay worship to the Āhavanīya fire. They thus conceal this fact from it, namely, that, while there is an Āhavanīya, they act elsewhere'. The point is that here offering must be made in the Dakṣiṇāgni, and it is feared, naturally, that the Āhavanīya will be jealous, since it is its natural privilege to receive oblations at most offerings. The *Brāhmaṇa* therefore, interprets the adoration of the Āhavanīya as a means, not of *propitiating* its anger, but of *forestalling* it, and thus preventing the anger from arising. It continues: *ā tamitor upatiṣṭhante; agnim evopadraṣṭāraṃ kṛtvā pitṝn niravadayante*, 'They pay worship to it until exhaustion (i. e., until the fire dies down); having thus made the (Āhavanīya) fire a witness (of the act of adoration); they then gratify the Fathers (by offering in the Dakṣiṇāgni)'. The point here seems to be that they must continue their adoration of the Āhavanīya for as long as it is in a position to witness their acts. It is true that the *Brāhmaṇa* seems to interpret *ā tamitor* as 'until they, the performers, are exhausted', since it continues: *antaṃ vā ete prāṇānāṃ gacchanti, ya ā tamitor upatiṣṭhante*. 'They go to the end of (their) breath; who worship until exhaustion'; and therefore it explains that by reciting their mantra to the Āhavanīya, *susaṃdṛśaṃ tvā*, etc,, (TS. 1, 8, 5, 1), they restore breath to themselves. It could, however, be argued that this does not necessarily imply that the exhaustion in the first instance does not apply to the fire. The *Brāhmaṇa* is clearly capable of interpreting the exhaustion of the fire as symbolically producing the exhaustion of the priests. The point is not vital to the interpretation of *nihnute*; in either case, the meaning is that the offensive act of offering in the Dakṣiṇāgni is concealed from the Āhavanīya by the prior adoration. Its attention is distracted, so to speak, by flattery.

Another clear case can be seen in the *pravara* ritual. The essence of the rite is the solemn designation of the human priest as Hotṛ. The point of the danger here is that Agni is known as the Hotṛ of the gods, and may therefore be offended by a human Hotṛ acting in his place. The human Hotṛ therefore in the first place calls on Agni as Hotṛ and it is only later in the rite that the Adhvaryu calls on the human priest to act as Hotṛ. Even here, however, caution must be observed, and the Adhvaryu begins: *agnir devo daivyo hotā* etc., and only after thus stressing the Hotṛ-ship of Agni does he

add, *asau mānuṣaḥ*, 'N.N. is the human (Hotṛ)'. Moreover, the actual name of the Hotṛ is uttered under the breath. The *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1, 5, 1, 4) comments : *tad agnaye caivaitad devebhyaś ca nihnute*, 'by so doing he conceals (his act) from Agni and from the gods'. Here again, the use of *nihnute* denotes the taking of precautions to prevent and forestall the possible anger of the gods.

In dealing with the *pravara* ceremony, the *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa* also has occasion to comment on the order of the names recited. Here the normal usage is that when the Hotṛ in the first place calls on Agni as a divine Hotṛ, he addresses him by the names of the *ṛṣi-* ancestors of the sacrificer, starting from the eldest. But in the second *pravara*, when Adhvaryu calls on the human Hotṛ, the same names are recited in reverse order. The *Vājasaneyins*, however, prescribed the same order in both cases, and in both places the *S'atapatha-Brāhmaṇa* explains that the reason for starting from the eldest ṛṣi is that he thus 'propitiates the lord of Seniority' (so Eggeling). The text is *jyāyasaspataya u caivaitan nihnute*. According to our explanation, we may translate, 'He thus conceals this fact (*etad*; or, by so acting he conceals) from the lord of the Elder One'. In other words, he conceals from this rather shadowy guardian of the privileges of seniority the modernity of the sacrificer, by associating the latter with his venerable ancestors, and moreover, by giving the eldest of these ancestors the pride of place. It is of interest that in the first instance (S' Br. 1, 4, 2, 4) both Weber and the Bibliotheca Indica edition read *etaṃ nihnute;* but in the second occurrence (S' Br. 1, 5, 1, 10) both have *etan nihnute*. There is, however, no reason at all for differentiating between the two passages, and it is preferable to read *etat* (neut.) in both places. If however the masc. *etaṃ* is read, it would of course refer to the sacrificer as the object of concealment. Granting that Weber is right in reading *etaṃ*, it would make the rendering 'propitiate' even harder to justify.

Another passage where both texts read a masc. instead of the normal neuter is S'Br. 1, 1, 2, 10. Here the situation is : the priest must pass by the yoke of the cart in order to fetch grain for the sacrificial oblation. But as the *Brāhmaṇa* explains, there is fire in the yoke, and to avoid the danger of passing by it, the Adhvaryu recites : 'Thou art a yoke (*dhur*); injure (*dhūrva*) thou the injurer', etc. By so paying his respects, as it were, to Agni in the yoke, he 'conceels them (?) from him' : *tasmā evaitān* (?) *nihnute*. In his translation, Eggeling completely omits the acc. plu. masc. *etān*. If it is correct, it must refer to the priests, 'he conceals them, protects them, from the wrath of Agni', who would be offended by the Adhvaryu's impious act of walking past him. But there is every probability that *etān* is simply an old error of the manuscript tradition, and that here, as in most of the other cases, we should read the neuter, *etan nihnute*. The text of Sāyaṇa's commentary, in fact, shows the neuter in both editions.

Enough has been cited to establish the general position, and we shall mention very briefly a few additional cases. The sacrificer's wife sits to the east of the fire (S'Br. 1, 3, 1, 17). But, says the *Brāhmaṇa*, Aditi sits to the east, and the sacrificer's wife would die if she offended Aditi in this. She there-

fore sits somewhat towards the south, *tad asyā evaitan nihnute.* That is, she conceals from the deity Aditi the fact that she, a human being, is actually representing Aditi in the human sacrifice. Similarly ŚBr. 1, 5, 1, 25, *mā modoṣiṣṭaṃ mā mā hiṃsiṣṭam, eṣa vāṃ loka ity udaṅṅ ejaty antarā vā etad āhavanīyaṃ ca gārhapatyaṃ cāste tad u tābhyāṃ nihnute* : " 'Do not burn me up, do not harm me; this is your ground', so saying he moves to the north. He thus takes up his position between the Āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya (but by moving slightly northward of the real midway point, and by stressing in speech that it is in fact their ground) ; he thus conceals from them the fact (that he is appropriating the position for himself)."

In the later development of the meaning, the sense of actual concealment recedes, and the meaning seems frequently to be little more than 'to take precautions against the possible anger of someone',—a purpose achieved normally by praise or flattery of the person or the deity in question. See for example, ŚBr. 1, 4, 5, 1; 2; 5, 1, 12; 8, 1, 28; TBr. 1, 4, 6, 7; 3, 9, 6, 2, (in these two cases, the precaution is against the possible wrath of a dead fellow-sacrificer and the slain horse in the Aśvamedha respectively); 2, 7, 5, 2; TS. 1, 5, 8, 3; 6, 1, 10, 3.

A striking case where the *nihnava* comes after the offence, so that it is in fact here virtually equivalent to 'propitiation', is in the S'unaḥśepa legend (AitBr. 7, 17 ; *Śāṅkhāyana Śr.* S. 15, 24). Here Ajīgarta, in remorse for his callous treatment of his son S'unaḥśepa, says : *tad ahaṃ nihnave tubhyaṃ* (*Sāṃkh. nihnuve*), where Keith translates, 'I would obliterate it in thy eyes'. But this is clearly a later development.

In all the cases examined so far, the verb occurs with the dative of the person or deity concerned. In a number of cases, however, most of which are concerned with the special rite of *nihnava* at the Tānūnaptra ceremony, it stands by itself. The most satisfactory method of interpretation is to assume that in these cases we have an example of the very frequent feature of *Brāhmaṇa* style, where a verb is used absolutely instead of the cognate noun with a verb of doing, saying etc. Thus, for example, we have *yajati* : 'he recites the Yājyā-verse', *saṃnayati*, 'he performs the Sāṃnāyya-ceremony', *ādadhāti* 'he performs the Ādhāna-ceremony', *pravṛṇīte*, 'he recites the Pravara', and so forth. The case already cited above, (AitBr. 1, 26) *prastare nihnuvate* would then mean, 'they perform the *nihnava*-rite on the straw'. As Weber following the commentaries, pointed out, the reason for the 'atonement' here is that the priests have proceeded in a southerly direction ; and since the south is the quarter of the Pitṛs, this is inauspicious at a sacrifice to the gods. Doubtless because of its important position at the forefront of the Soma sacrifice, this present case came to be considered the *nihnava* par excellence, and it is to this special case that the noun *nihnava* regularly refers. It is unfortunate that the commentators, because of the part played in the rite by the *namaskāra* of laying the hands on the *prastara*, have occasionally interpreted the verb *nihnute* itself to mean

namaskaroti. Thus in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra*, the editor, Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, interprets *atha nihnute* (4, 3, 17) by *piṇḍān ācchādya namaskaroti.* By the word *namaskaroti*, he gives the impossible interpretation of *nihnute* already current among the commentators, while at the same time propitiating the root-meaning of the word by inserting *ācchādya.* Less excusably, Mr. P. V, Kane, in his '*History of Dharmaśāstra*', vol. 2, p. 1147, is persuaded by the commentary on *Āśvalāyana Śr.* S. 4, 5, 7, that '*nihnava* is a kind of salutation to Heaven and Earth.'

To sum up: the original meaning of the verb seems to have been 'to conceal one's actions from a person, so as to avoid rousing his anger'. The *Brāhmaṇas* contain clear indications that this was the original sense and even in its later developments, the word never came to be quite equivalent to 'propitiate.' Weber's theory of the history of the meaning, starting from the sense 'to conceal oneself from a person', is unsatisfactory. One would not expect the *Ātmanepada* to have a reflexive meaning; and though it is doubtless a natural impulse to conceal oneself from a person whom one has offended, the *Brāhmaṇa* passages seem to give no indication of such a proceeding. The interpretation here proposed is in accord with the fact that so many of the acts of the *Śrauta* ritual are explained by the texts themselves as having a purely automatic and mechanical action. There is in fact no need for the priest to conceal himself, provided he takes the precaution of concealing the particular offensive act from the deity in question. It is to be noted that in these cases the offence is not an accidental error in the ritual. For errors, there are prescribed penances or atonements (*prāyaścitta*) in great numbers. But in the cases reviewed here, the act is deliberate: it is a necessary part of the ritual, and however offensive to a particular deity it might be, it must be performed.

Indra's Infancy According to Ṛgveda IV, 18.

By
W. NORMAN BROWN, *Philadelphia.*

The fullest account of Indra's early days, as recorded in any single hymn of the *Ṛgveda* appears in IV, 18. In JAOS 62,93-95 this material with certain other material found elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda* is utilized in an effort to reconstruct the general outline of the story of Indra's birth and infancy. In the present brief paper there is offered a translation of IV, 18 in full, to bring out certain details not mentioned in the article cited above and to offer varying interpretation of some doubtful points.

This hymn appears to open with the moment of Indra's birth. His mother, thinking for some unstated reason that Indra is a shame (*avadya*), wishes to abandon him. She urges him to go one way, while she goes another, lest he bring disaster upon her, but he refuses. She then tries to abandon him, but he follows her, arriving at Tvaṣṭṛ's house, where he drinks the Soma. Now he is strong enough to conquer his enemies, but his mother is unaware of that fact. Nevertheless, she no longer thinks to be rid of him, and so she conceals him, possibly by swallowing. Indra, however, emerges from the concealment, and puts on his resplendent garment, which makes him visible to his enemies. At sight of him the Waters, covered by Vṛtra and desiring release, call out to him. He then slays Vṛtra and releases the streams, thereby seeming to surprise his mother. The poet now (stanzas 8-9) extols Indra's deed, recalling the initial fear, obscurity, and misfortunes of the hero, the summons by the Waters, and the victory. In two more stanzas (10-11) the poet refers in other terms to Indra's abandonment by his mother, the mother's later adherence to her son when she sees him in danger and friendless, and the assistance Viṣṇu gives to the hero at the height of the conflict. Finally in stanza 12 the poet addresses Indra himself, reminding him of his most desperate hour, and in stanza 13, Indra replies acknowledging his dire need and the welcome aid he had received at the critical moment when the eagle brought him the Soma.

As so interpreted the hymn has a unity, and is not a dialogue hymn (see Oldenberg : *Ṛgveda Noten*, p. 280). There are some doubtful points, but the main outlines of the hymn seem to emerge fairly clearly. Interpretations of the same hymn are to be found in R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner : *Vedische Studien*, 2 (1897), 42-54; E. Sieg : *Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda* (1902), pp. 76-90; L. von Schroeder: *Mysterium und Mimus im Ṛigveda* (1908), pp. 326-337. These concern themselves primarily with Indra's (or Vāmadeva's)

unnatural birth from his mother's side, an interpretation which seems to me unnecessary in spite of any Indian tradition. The critical phrase is in stanza 2 : *pārśvān nirgamāṇi.* There follows now a translation with certain interpretative notes.

1.

अयं पन्था अनुवित्तः पुराणो यतो देवा उदजायन्त विश्वे ।
अतश्चिद् आ जनिषीष्ट प्रवृद्धो मा मातरममुया पत्तवे कः ॥

[Indra's mother speaks] *This is the ancient accustomed path, by which the gods were all born upward. Thence let the Mighty One be born [upward]. Let him not make his mother fall down there (in Hell).*

Indra's mother wants him not to go with her (cf. stanzas 3, 10). She does not say why, perhaps she wants to avoid reproach (stanzas 5, 7). *Amuyā* in the RV. regularly means 'there' in an evil sense: it is used of the place where the dead Vṛtra lies (1, 32, 8), where demons lie (X, 89, 14); where those who practise sorcery by sexual intercourse are to go (I, 29, 5; X, 85, 30; probably also X, 135, 2), where Indra is to strike down the wicked (V, 34, 5); here too it means That (awful) Place of VII, 104, 17, implied in III, 53, 21.

2.

नाहमतो निरया दुर्गहैतत् तिरश्चता पार्श्वान्निर्गमाणि ।
बहूनि मे अकृता कर्त्वानि युध्यै त्वेन सं त्वेन पृच्छै ॥

[Indra replies] *I may not go straight forth to dangers here. I must go forth along with you to avoid them. Many deeds not done before must I do. I have both to fight and to make inquiry.*

In *nír ayā durgáhā......tiraścátā pārśvā́n nír gamāṇi* we should probably recognize an idiom *tiras √i durgahā*, which is equivalent or similar to parallel idioms appearing in I, 41, 3; VI, 51, 10; VII, 60, 6; X, 182, *1*; and another idiom *pārśvād√gam* meaning 'accompany', as in the later *pārśvaga* etc. This hymn does not indicate the nature of Indra's inquiry, but in VIII, 45, 4; 5 and VIII, 77, 1; 2 it is said that as soon as born he asks his mother who the mighty are, the famed; in one passage she answers that his enemy is Apsas (Covering ?); in the other that his enemies are the two wicked *asuras* Aurṇavābha and Ahīśuva, whom he must conquer; sometimes he slays his enemies at once (VIII, 77, 3); elsewhere incidents intervene. Indra seems to mean, however, that he must drink Soma to acquire the necessary strength for overcoming his foes, and must therefore combine caution with bravery.

3.

परायतीं मातरमन्वचष्ट न नानु गान्यनु नू गमानि ।
त्वष्टुर्गृहे अपिबत् सोममिन्द्रः शतधन्यं चम्वोः सुतस्य ॥

He saw his mother leaving him. 'No, no, I shall follow her, I must surely go with her !' In Tvaṣṭṛ's house Indra drank Soma, a hundred-worth of the pressed juice from the bowls.

The verb *parā* √ *i* should probably be taken as equivalent in meaning to *parā* √ *gam* (X, 97, 21) and *parā* √ *car* (X, 17, 6) 'go off', perhaps in grazing (Indra's mother is frequently, as below, described as a cow) ;it need not have the meaning 'die', since obviously his mother does not die but appears later in the hymn ; the meaning 'die', is favoured by those who see in verses 1 and 2, a reference to Indra's birth unnaturally from his mother's side ; like the Buddha's. In other passages Indra steals the Soma after overcoming Tvaṣṭṛ (III, 48, 4, cf. I, 61, 7) who seems to be the Mighty Father (but not Indra's father) cf. III, 48, 2 ; or he has to slay Viśvarūpa to get it, either alone or with the aid of Trita Āptya (X, 8, 8-9 ; II, 11, 15). He darnk the Soma in the cups (III, 48, 4) or on his mother's breast (III, 48, 2 ; 3) ; the parallel passages apparently making *camū* and *ūdhar* equivalent. Indra saw the Soma on his mother's breast (III, 48, 2) ; Soma regularly grows on the mountains ; and breasts may be compared to mountains, especially since Indra's mother seems to be the Earth (JAOS 62, 92).

4

किं स ऋधक् कृणवद् सहस्रं यं मासो जभार शरदश्च पूर्वीः ।
नही न्वस्य प्रतिमानमस्त्यन्तर्जातेषूत ये जनित्वाः ॥

Could he now put away (conquer) [his enemies], he whom she bore (as embryo) a thousand months and many autumns? No match has he among those already or yet to be born.

This translation retains the *sa* of the text and rejects the suggestion *sā* (see in Oldenberg : *Ṛgveda Noten*, p. 281). *ṛdhak*√*kṛ* is here construed in a sense more or less similar to that of the same phrase as it appears in other passage, where it has *dveṣaḥ* as an object (VIII, 18, 11) or *dāsam* (X, 49, 7, and Indra's self-praise hymn). This stanza has expressions parallel to those in V, 2, 2 and VI, 18, 12.

5

अवद्यमिव मन्यमाना गुहाकरिन्द्रं माता वीर्येणा न्यृष्टम् ।
अथोदस्थात् स्वयमत्कं वसान आ रोदसी अपृणाज्जायमानः ॥

As if considering him a reproach, his mother concealed Indra [through now he was] filled with heroic might. Then up he rose [from concealment] and himself put on his garment. When born he filled the two worlds.

Indra's garment is brilliant (VI, 29, 3), and presumably makes him conspicuous, as, with his suddenly acquired strength, he can now afford to be, no longer having need of concealment ; for other interpretations of *atka*, see Pischel : *Vedische Studien* 2, 193-204 (summary of meanings on p. 203). The statement that on being born Indra filled the two worlds is paralleled in III, 6, 2 and VII, 13, 2 (incorrectly cited in Bloomfield : *Ṛgveda Repetitions*, p. 221 as VII, 13, 12).

6

एता अर्षन्त्यललाभवन्तीरृतावरीरिव संक्रोशमानाः ।
एता वि पृच्छ किमिदं भनन्ति कमापो अद्रिं परिधिं रुजन्ति ॥

These [waters] stream forth with the sound alalā, like ṛta-serving [kine] lowing together. Question them ! What is this they are saying ? what restraining rock are the waters bursting ?

This stanza inevitably recalls X, 108, 7 ; 11. The second half of the stanza might mean, 'Ask [Indra's mother] what it is that they are saying......'.

7

किमु ष्विदस्मै निविदो भनन्तेन्द्रस्यावद्यं दिधिषन्त आपः ।
ममैतान् पुत्रो महता वधेन वृत्रं जघन्वाँ असृजद् वि सिन्धून् ॥

Can they be speaking nivids (invocatory formulae) for him ? Are the waters taking Indra's reproach upon themselves ? 'My son with his mighty weapon has slain Vṛtra and released these streams !'

The second half of his stanza, possibly the whole stanza seems to be spoken by Indra's mother (see Oldenberg : *Ṛgevda Noten*, p. 281), perhaps in astonishment and pride at her son's achievement.

8

ममच्चन त्वा युवतिः परास ममच्चन त्वा कुषवा जगार ।
ममच्चिदापः शिशवे ममृड्युर्ममच्चिदिन्द्रः सहसोदतिष्ठत् ॥

What though the young woman (Indra's mother) abandoned you, what though Kuṣavā swallowed you, yet did the waters coax the child, yet did Indra rise up by his might.

Possibly this stanza echoes with applause the incidents mentioned in stanza 3, when Indra's mother tried to leave him, in staza 5, when she concealed him (could that have been by swallowing, in which case Kuṣavā would refer to her ?) and he suddenly arose (*athod asthāt*, *sahasod atiṣṭhat*), presumably out of concealment ; it may also refer to the moment when the Waters called or coaxed him (statement of this incident omitted in stanza 5, but implied), knowing his real power, in spite of his mother's lack of confidence (stanza 4) or fear that he might commit a sin and become a reproach (stanza 5).

9

ममच्चन ते मघवन् व्यंसो निविविध्वाँ अप हनू जघान ।
अधा निविद्ध उत्तरो बभूवाञ्छिरो दासस्य सं पिणग् वधेन ॥

What though Vyaṅsa struck you down, Maghavan, and broke your jaw ; yet, struck down, you became the superior and smashed the Dāsa's head wiih your weapon.

10

गृष्टिः ससूव स्थविरं तवागामनाधृष्यं वृषभं तुम्रमिन्द्रम् ।
अरीळ्हं वत्सं चरथाय माता स्वयं गातुं तन्व इच्छमानम् ॥

The heifer bore the raging bull Indra, the stout, impetuous, irresistible. The mother left the unliked calf to wandr, to take by himself whatever path he might choose.

11

उत माता महिषमन्ववेनदमी त्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः ।
अथाब्रवीद् वृत्रमिन्द्रो हनिष्यन् त्सखे विष्णो वितरं वि क्रमस्व ॥

Afterwards the mother came to his aid. 'My son, the gods here are deserting you!' Then Indra, bent upon slaying Vṛtra, said, 'Friend Viṣṇu, step out your very widest!'

The gods are also reported in VIII, 96, 7 to have deserted Indra in the battle. For the friendship between Indra and Vṣṇu, see Bloomfield : *Rig-Veda Repetitions*, p. 222 (cf. Macdonell : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 39).

12

कस्ते मातरं विधवामचक्रच्छयुं कस्त्वामजिघांसच्चरन्तम् ।
कस्ते देवो अधि मार्डीक आसीद् यत् प्राक्षिणाः पितरं पादगृह्य ॥

[Poet addressing Indra] *'Who would have made your mother a widow? Who tried to kill you lying or moving? What god was a helper for you when you took the father by the foot?'*

This stanza remains obscure in any psssible interpretation on the basis of facts already ascertained. Because of a possible relationship with the next stanza, it might be taken to refer to Indra's period of weakness before he drank the Soma and acquired his strength. In that case it would seem that an enemy tried to kill both him and his father and so make his mother a wdow. The 'Father' in the last part of the stanza would then refer not to Indra's father., but to someone else who carries that term as an epithet; for example, Tvaṣṭṛ (see above under stanza 3) or even Vṛtra (as apparently in X, 124, 3) as originally enclosing all, hence being the Father of All. Indra might have taken the Father by the foot, in suing for grace. But if the allusion is to the situation after Indra got the strength-giving draught, the phrase might mean that Indra took him by the foot to kill him. Similarly the phrase translated, 'What god was a helper for you' might, in the latter case, be translated, 'What god interceded with you [to ask pity] for the Father............'. Another possible interpretation is that Indra, after getting the Soma, was attacked by his father, that Indra then tried to kill him, but some one of the gods interceded and saved the Father (who might be thought to the *Dyaus*) or else came to help Indra in his fight with the Father. This latter interpretation, which implies no direct association between stanzas 12 and 13, is that implied in JAOS 62, 95.

13

अवर्त्या शुन आन्त्राणि पेचे न देवेषु विविदे मर्डितारम् ।
अपश्यं जायाममहीयमानामधा मे श्येनो मध्वा जभार ॥

[Indra speaks] *'In my adversity I cooked a dog's entrails;*

I found none among the gods to be my helper. I saw my wife being dishonored. Then the eagle brought me the Soma'.

Though cooking a dog's entrails seems here a mark of humiliation, the exact significance of the allusion is not clear. Indra's wife is his strength (śacī ; his epithet S'acīpati). The story of the eagle bringing the Soma to Indra is the frequent Vedic myth (cf. VIII, 71, 9 ; IV, 20, 6 ; 26, 6 ; X, 144, 5 etc), but how that myth is to be reconciled to the myth that Indra found the Soma on his mother's breast (stanza 3 above ; III, 48) is not indicated.

Hr̥d in the Veda

By

R. N. DANDEKAR, *Poona.*

The evidence of comparative philology indicates that the Indogermanic people had clearly realised the significance of the heart in human anatomy. The Vedic word, *hr̥d*, is merely a rhyme-word for the Indogermanic **ker(e)d*, which latter has its linguistic counterparts in Gk. *χαρδία*, Lat. *cor*, Air. *cride*, Got. *hairto* etc.[1] It is thus clear that the notion of the heart as a physical organ in the structure of the human body is quite an ancient one. In this connection mention may be made of the fact that *hr̥d* is enumerated together with other physical organs in the detailed descriptions of the human body in the *Atharvaveda* (II, 33, 3 ; X, 2, 26). What was considered to be its main function in that aspect is, however, not clear from such references in the Veda. We only know that the place of the heart is in the middlemost part of the anatomical structure and that it was considered to be one of the innermost bodily organs. We come across references to *hr̥droga* (RV. I, 50, 11), and to the piercing of the heart by weapons (RV. I, 24, 8 ; VIII, 68, 8 ; X, 87, 4) apparently because it was regarded as the most delicate and the most vital organs of the body[2]. Another interesting reference to *hr̥d* is in connection with the Soma-drinking. It seems clear that, in certain Vedic passages, the word *hr̥d* had possessed the sense of 'belly' or 'stomach' as did its linguistic equivalents in certain other idg. languages such as Gk. *χορξία* ; for *hr̥d* is referred to by a Vedic poet as the unexhausting Soma-holding vessel, *hr̥dáḥ kaláśaḥ somadhánaḥ* (AV. IX, 1, 6). There are also other Vedic passages wherein the Soma is spoken of as flowing into the depths of *hr̥d* (RV. I, 91, 3 ; III, 42, 8 ; VIII, 48, 12).

Another current of thought also is associated with the notion of *hr̥d*. A study of certain words in Gk., Lat., etc. possessing psychological significance such as *φρήν*, *φρένες*, *χέρδος*, *vecors*, *recordari* proves that the human faculties of feeling, willing etc., were connected by those people more particularly with the heart. The same feature is to be noticed in the Veda

1. The word *hr̥d* has to be traced back philologically to idg. **ghr̥d* which latter has been preserved only in Aryan languages. In idg. *k̂ered. *k̂ĕrd *k̂r̥d kred* are the other words for 'heart'. Several attempts have been made by linguisticians to connect **ǵhr̥d* and **k̂r̥d* on the basis of analogy or phonetics.

2. It may be noted that in the RV. the word *hr̥daya*, rather than *hr̥d*, more usually denotes a physical organ.

also. It is obviously on account of certain distinctive features of *hṛd*, such as its being the innermost as well as the most vital and the most sensitive organ in the human body, that certain primary psychological functions came to be connected with it. The primitive thought was not originally capable of any abstract conceptions. Whatever is real must be, according to the primitive thought, concrete and substantial. So the psychological experiences also were associated by the primitive man with concrete physical organs. And the bodily organ most greatly affected by psychological experiences such as fear, anger, hatred, longing, love etc., was evidently the heart. In this manner the heart became the starting point of early psychological speculations. In what may be called the pre-analytical stage of Vedic psychology, side by side with *hṛd, manas* also played a similar role and that too, in a more or less equally concrete form[1]. Several psychological experiences and functions were referred back to *manas*. When, however, *manas* was later conceived as the human faculty connected with certain specific psychological functions, such as *saṅkalpa*, the Vedic poet began to lay great stress upon the original association of *hṛd* and primary psychological experiences. In such cases *hṛd* may be said to have been regarded rather as a psychological faculty than as a mere physical organ. The frequent association of *hṛd* and *hṛdaya* with the psychological terms like *manas* (RV. VII, 98, 2; VIII, 89, 5), *dhī* and *manīṣā* (RV. I, 61, 2) is a strong evidence in support of this assumption. It is from this point of view that a few characteristics of *hṛd* as constituting an element of the human personality will be described in this paper. For, the role of *hṛd* in human life as represented in the Veda is, as is perhaps quite natural, essentially psychological. But for the sake of a clear understanding of the entire conception, the significant vicissitudes in the notion of *hṛd*, indicated above, should not be lost sight of.

In the so-called analytical stage of Vedic psychology *hṛd* seems to have been distinguished from *manas* in that it was regarded the basis of all spontaneous psychological experiences. All such psychological phenomena as did not require any sort of positive effort for their manifestation were normally connected with *hṛd*. 'Fear', for instance, is said to enter into the heart (RV. I, 32, 14); elsewhere it is spoken of as being placed in the heart (RV. X, 84, 7; AV. IV, 31, 7). These notions must have obviously been permitted, and seem to represent rather the physical reaction of a psychological experience. Similarly one finds that 'desire' is spoken of as having its roots in the heart (RV. X, 40, 12). A Vedic poet says that Agni knows their hearts: *asmáddhṛdó bhúrijanmā vícaṣṭe* (RV. X, 5, 1). Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, explains *hṛdaḥ* as *hṛdayāni*, that is to say, *abhilaṣitāni; asmākam hṛdayāni abhilaṣitāni jānāti.* Here we clearly observe a common peculiarity of the Veda according to which a human faculty itself is made to represent its own function. The 'longing' on the part of a person is manifested in his heart (RV. X,

1. *Vide* Dandekar : *Somatism of Vedic Psychology*, IHQ. XVII. pp. 70, ff.

123, 6). The feelings of 'pleasure' and 'satisfaction' spring from the heart (RV. I, 43, 1 ; VIII, 43, 31 ; AV. XX, 87, 2). S'oka, in the same manner, burns the heart (RV. X, 103, 12 ; AV. VI, 18, 1 ; XIX, 28, 2), or the heart is said to be free from 'torment' (AV. XVI, 3, 6). The Vedic poet refers to himself, in another sense, as invoking Indra with a '*burning' heart* : *yát tvā hṛdā́ śócatā johavīmi* (AV. II, 12, 3). The words, *kīriṇā hṛdā* (RV. V, 4, 10) seem to be interpreted by Grassmann as suggesting the feeling of gratitude[1]. It will thus be seen that, in all these cases, the 'spontaneity' of psychological phenomena is suggested through their association with *hṛd.*

Besides 'spontaneity' the association of psychological phenomena with *hṛd* also signifies their 'sincere,' 'spiritual' and 'inspired' character (RV. X, 16, 3 ; 116, 17). It should be noted in this connection that, in the Veda, *hṛd* is often considered to be the proper fountain of song. The Vedic *mantra* springs directly from the heart of the poet (RV. I, 60, 3). In one Vedic passage, Indra is implored to accept such a song of prayer, which goes up to him, in all exuberance of sincere and spontaneous feelings and emotions, like a beloved to her lover : *índraṃ matír hṛdá ā́ vacyámānā́cchā pátiṃ stómataṣṭā jigāti* (RV. III, 39, 1). In another passage, .the streams of poetry are described to be following out of the ocean of the heart : *etā́ arṣanti hṛ́dyāt samudrā́cchatávrajāḥ* (RV. IV, 58, 5). The heart is the ocean from out of which the genuine .feelings of a Soma-inspired poet flow forth. Particularly in the case of Trita, who was surrounded by difficulties on all sides, his prayers were an outburst of such genuine feelings directly flowing from the heart (RV. I, 105, 15)[2]. Such poetry may be distinguished from the *manīṣā-* ideal of poetry, in which latter case, a conscious effort is made, as by a *takṣā* 'a carpenter' to put the 'best words in the best order' and thus to make the prayer a *suvṛkti.* According to the Vedic poet the source of genuine poetical inspiration is the heart. In a passage from the RV. , a Vedic poet indeed succinctly, presents the whole process of the origin of a truly inspired song : *hṛdā́ matíṃ jyótiránu prajānán* (III, 26, 8). First of all there flashes a light (*jyotiḥ*) in the heart of the poet, he becomes conscious of it and follows its lead (*anu prajānan*) ; and then with all the spontaneity, sincerity and spirituality associated with *hṛd* (*hṛdā*) the well thought-out song (*matiḥ*) springs forth. It is directly from *hṛd* that the poet addresses the divinity : *hṛdā́ hūyanta ukthínaḥ* (RV. VIII, 76, 8). The 'light' referred to in the above passage (RV. III, 26, 8) is evidently the 'inspiration' which is received by the poet and of which he later seems to become conscious.

Not only does the Vedic song originate from *hṛd* but its appeal too is directed towards *hṛd.* It is in this sense that the Vedic song is

1. Grassmann : *Rig-Veda,* erster Theil, § 358, p. 165

2. In this connection one may be reminded of the Wordsworthian conception of poetry as the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings.

often said to be *hṛdispṛś* (RV. I, 16, 7 ; X. 47, 7). It ought to go directly to the heart of the divinity (RV. VII, 101, 5). It must also lie within the heart : *hṛdí stoma úpaśritaś cid astu* (RV. VII, 86, 8). The Vedic song, indeed, forms the bridge between the heart of the poet and the heart of the divinity and thus brings about the true communion between the two. It should be noted that an interesting commingling of ideas on the part of the Vedic poet takes place in this connection. Like *stoma*, Soma also is called *hṛdispṛ́ś* (RV. X, 25, 2), for it is said to enter into the depths of *hṛd* (RV. III. 42, 8 ; IX, 60, 3 ; 108, 16). It is not only in this aspect that Soma is similar to *stoma*, 'the Vedic song'. Just as Soma-juice is pressed and purified three times (RV. IX, 73, 8), so the Vedic song also is purified and perfected through the functioning of *hṛd* and *manas*: *samyák sravanti saríto ná dhénā antár hṛdā́ mánasā pūyámānāḥ* (RV. IV, 58, 6 : also cf. III, 26, 8). Soma is often referred to as pouring into the heart (RV. I, 91, 13 ; 168, 3 ; 179, 5 ; VIII. 2, 12 ; 48, 12). From out of the heart spring forth the inspired songs of the Vedic poet. These two notions seem to have merged into one another.[1] The Vedic poet, therefore, represents the origin of the song in terms of the stream of Soma (*ghṛta-dhārāḥ*) flowing out of the ocean of the heart (RV. IV, 58, 5 ; 11 ; X, 5, 1 ; 89, 4). This conception of Vedic poetry originating from the heart of the poet and having a direct appeal to the heart of the divinity would clear up a common misunderstanding about its nature, namely, that Vedic poetry is often purely conventional in form and content.

According to early Indian thinkers, true knowledge lies not in indirectly 'knowing' a thing, but in directly feeling it. The Vedic poet seems to express this idea when he suggests that true knowledge appears in *hṛd*. Through the 'light' of *hṛd*, there dawned upon S'unaḥśepa the true knowledge of the nature and function of Varuṇa : *tádayam kéto hṛdá ā́ ví caṣṭe* (RV. I, 24, 12). In another passage (RV. V, 31, 9) Indra is said to have driven away the darkness from the heart of his devotee and thus made him a 'seer'. Another striking passage (RV. VII, 33, 9) tells us that through the 'lights of the heart' (*hṛ́dayasya praketaiḥ*), the Vasiṣṭhas were enabled to comprehend the great secret. Elsewhere (RV. X, 129, 4) we are told that the secret of how, in the beginning of the universe, non-existent was related to the existent and of how indeed the existent arose, was first revealed to the seers in their heart : *sató bándhum ásati niravindan hṛdí pratī́ṣyā kaváyo manīṣā́*. The role of *hṛd*, in the Vedic religion, is again by no means unimportant. When the Vedic seer intuitively visualises the divinity : *dhīrāsaḥ padám kaváyo nayanti*, the divinity must be, by means of every

1. Here there seems to be an obvious confusion between the two notions regarding *hṛd*,–*hṛd* as a physical organ, 'perhaps 'belly' and *hṛd* as a psychological faculty.

effort, held in the heart: *nā́nā hṛdā́ rákṣamāṇā ajuryám* (RV. I, 146, 4). This alone would facilitate an eternal direct communion with the divinity. An AV—poet expresses the same idea when he says : *yó no agníḥ pitáro hṛtsvàntár āvivéśa amṛ́to mártyeṣu*[1] *máyyahám tám párigṛhṇāmi devám* XII, 2, 33) 'what Agni hath entered into our hearts, an immortal among the mortals, that god do I enclose within me'.

It will be seen, from the foregoing brief statement of the salient features of *hṛd* and its functions, that the original notion about *hṛd* was greatly influenced, in the Veda, by other psychological conceptions, particularly by the *manas*-conception. It would, therefore, be interesting to note in this connection the main features which characterise the relation between *hṛd* and *manas* in the Veda. To begin with, one observes that the word *hṛd* is connected with *manas*, in certain passages, more or less in the sense of an adjective. Thus the word *hṛd* seems to qualify, to a certain extent, the functions of *manas*. The phrase *hṛdā manasā* occurs more than once in the RV. In one context RV. X, 177, 1, Sāyaṇa rightly explains *hṛdā manasā* as *antarmukhena mansā*. The ideas of spontaneity, sincerity, spirituality, introspection, true knowledge etc., which are usually associated with *hṛd* are thus brought into contact with the function of *manas*. A specific type of 'thinking' is here indicated by the addition of the word *hṛd*. In another context (RV. VI, 28, 5). Sāyaṇa again suggestively explains the phrase *hṛdā manasā* as *śraddhāyuktena manasā*. The distinction between the two conceptions of *hṛd* and *manas* implied here is that *manas* represents the faculty of thinking of 'reason', while *hṛd* represents the faculty of feeling of 'faith'. The real intellectual approach towards anything should be, according to the Vedic poet, one characterised both by reason and faith. A philological study of words meaning 'heart' in the cognate idg. language would show that, properly speaking, the Sanskrit equivalent of the original idg. word **kered, kred* should have been *śṛd*. In its place, *hṛd*, which is merely a rhyme-word, has actually been preserved. It seems, however, that *śṛd* also has been retained in Sanskrit in another form, viz., *śrad*. The Sanskrit verb *śrad* √*dhā* which corresponds with idg. *k̂red* √ *dhē*, literally means 'to put one's heart,' that is, 'to believe, have faith'. The manner, in which that verb is used in *śrád asmai dhatta* (RV. II, 12, 5) makes it clear that *śrad* must have been used as an independent word, obviously in the same sense as *hṛd*.[1]

The Vedic poet tries to express the distinction between the human faculties of *hṛd* and *manas* and their respective functions in several ways. One passage is particularly illuminating in this connection. Indra explains the reason for his sudden appearance on the earth. When he sat alone, 'upon the dear sky's summit', there entered in him a feeling of longing and anxiety.

1. The Avestan *zrazd* (Skt. *śraddhā*) is connected with *zərəd* 'heart'. This connection between 'heart' and 'faith' will be made clear by the study of the relevant words in other idg. languages such as Lat. *credo*, *cor* etc.

He wondered why such feeling should have originated. Thereupon an inner voice told him that his devoted singers were invoking him, and so he came down to the earth. This entire psychological process on the part of Indra has been very picturesquely described by the Vedic poet. The heart is, as we have seen so far, the human faculty, which is usually the seat of 'feelings'. *Manas*, on the other hand, is the human faculty which is responsible for positive 'thinking'. In this particular psychological experience of Indra, his *hṛd* could 'feel' some thing, but it was unable to find out the real source of that feeling. As a matter of fact, the function of *hṛd* ended with the feeling. Indra, therefore, brought into action his other psychological faculty, namely, *manas*. His *manas* investigated into the nature of the feeling which arose in his *hṛd* and supplied, so to say, the answer to the query of *hṛd* : *mánas cīn me hṛdá á prátyavocad ácikradañ chiśumantaḥ sákhāyaḥ* (RV. VIII, 100, 5). It is *manas* which, on account of its main function of positive thinking, completes the whole psychological process by supplementing the psychological experience of *hṛd*. Thereafter follows the 'doing', namely, Indra's appearance before his devotees. This passage is remarkable also from another point of view. It throws considerable light on the Vedic thinker's conception of the three most primary phases of human action, namely, feeling, knowing and doing.

A similar functional distinction between the two human faculties, *hṛd* and *manas*, seems to be suggested in a passage from AV. (VI, 73, 2), where the poet refers to *hṛdaya* as the seat of 'vehement feelings' in contrast with *manas* which is supposed to be the seat of 'conscious designs' : *yó yáh śúṣmo hṛ́dayeṣv antár ā́kūtir yá vo mánasi práviṣṭā.* The two ideals of Vedic poetry, firstly as the outburst of the exuberance of feelings directly springing from *hṛd*, and secondly, as a conscious artistic effort, in the manner of a *takṣā*, an artisan, to put the best words in the best order, often called the *manīṣā* (connected with *manas*), also make the distinction between the nature and functions of *hṛd* and *manas* quite clear. Such primary analysis of psychological functions is not an uncommon phenomenon in the Veda (cf. RV. 1, 61, 2 ; X, 10, 13 ; 123, 6).

Finally, we find in the Veda the beginnings of the later conception of the Indian thinker regarding the relation between *hṛd* and *manas*. In a passage from the AV. (XIX, 4, 5) *hṛd* is clearly referred to as the abode of *manas* and other *indriyas*. This reference is important from two points of view. Firstly, it appears from this reference that in later Veda *manas* came to be regarded as one of the *indriyas*, though still the most essential, that is to say, merely as one of the several elements of the human personality[1]; and secondly, *hṛd* gradually came to lose its essentially psychological significance.

1. At one stage in the development of Vedic language regarding human personality, *manas* seemed to indicate almost the entire human personality, *vide* Dandekar : Der Vedische Mensch, pp. 44, ff.

Pahlavi Yans Hā viii—a Critical Study

By

ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA, *Bombay.*

I.

(1) Pat aharāδīh be dahom x̌arišn ut myazd, x̌ardat Amurdat, ut gospand i hūdāk, ut Hōm ut parāhōm, ut ēsm-ič ut bōδ, pat frāch-aparīkānīh i Ōhrmazd ut Ahunavar ut ān-ich i rāst goβishn, (2) ut Dāhmān i vēhān āfrīn, ut ān-ich i chēr [i takīk] Dāmi apar pat mēnish , (3) hōm-ich ut mānsr-ich ut ahrōβ Zartōsht ku pat aharāδīh ō ēmā bē rasāt [pat frārōnīh].

(1) *I offer with righteousness the food and the votive offerings, waters and vegetation, clarified butter (lit. animal product of good creation), Hōm and Parāhōm, fuel and incense, for the glorification*[1] *of Ohrmazd, Ahunavar and the truthful utterance,* (2) *of the benediction of the pious and the faithful, of the powerful,* [*the strong*], *Dāmi of excellent thought,* (3) *of the Hōm, of the Holy Spell and of the Holy Zartōsht, so that it may reach us with sanctity* [*i.e. with virtuousness*].

II.

(1) Rāspīk : ē x̌arēt mart ān myazd kē ān arzānīk pat aharāδīh [ku-sh kār ut kirpak x̌ēsh ō bawēt] franāmishn [ku, ka-sh chēsh dahēnd, ā-sh x̌ēsh ō bawēt ; ast kē ētōn goβēt hat ka aharāδīh raδ pat franāmishn arzānik].

(1) *The Rāspī (speaks) : partake of this votive offering, ye men who are deserving*[2] *of it on account of righteousness* [*i.e. their duties and meritorious deeds shall verily become their own*] *and the profession*[4] [*(of faith), i.e. when they give him anything, it becomes his own, there is some one who says know that they are worthy (of it) on account of holiness and profession (of faith)*].

III.

(1) Zōt : amahrspand-ēt, dēn i mazdyastān [pat x̌anishn], kē vēh mart ut kē vēh mātak, [ku, mart-ich shmāk vēh hēt ut mātak-ich shmāk vēh hēt], zōhr-ich [ān vēh hach mēnōk i shmāk] ; (2) kē hach ōyshān mazdyastān mazdyastīh goβēt (ē goβāt ku mart i vēh mart hōm.) pat ān i aharāδīh bahr zīvāt [ku bahr ut dāsr i vēhān x̌arāt,] (3) kē pat yātūkīh gēhān i aharāδīh mranchēnāt [ku yātūk bawāt.] (4) apar shmāk ō ōy nikīzēt [ku daxshak-ē tāshtīk patish paδtāk bē kunēt], kē āp ut ōr var ut zōhr-ich.

(1) *Zōt : 'ye who are Holy Immortals*[14] *O Religion of Mazdā-worship* [*by invocation*], *ye who (are) good men and good women i.e.*

you men are good and you women too are good], *and* ye Zōhr [(= *libations*) *they* (*are*) *excellent on account of your spirit*] ; (2) *whoso amongst those Mazda-worshippers shall proclaim the Mazdayasnian faith* [*i.e., he may proclaim this thus* : '*I am a man who is a good man*'] *may live*[5] *through the share of the righteous people* [*i.e., may partake of a portion of the gift of the faithful*]. (3-4) *Do you who are the waters, the plants and the Zōhr* (= *the oblations*) *mark him out* [*i.e. do you make manifest a certain sign upon him*], *who destroys the word of holiness by means of sorcery* [*i.e. he may be a sorcerer*].

IV

Kē-ich hach ōyshān mazdyastān i purrnāyān i apar-gōftārān ēn gōβishn nē patgrēt frāch-gōβishnīh [ku amesha spenta nē gōβāt ash awikānīh], ē yātūkīh rasāt [ku-sh daxshak-ē tāshtīk patish paδtāk bawāt, ast kē ētōn gōβēt ē rasēt pat nifrīn].

And he who amongst those Mazda-worshippers, of full age, invoking with earnestness,[6] *does not accept this formula and speaks forth* [*that he shall not recite* '*Amesha Spenta*' *because of his inconsistency*[7]] *shall attain to sorcery*[8] (*i. e. upon him a certain sign will be manifest* ; *there is some one who says* '*know that he will attain to it through curse*).[12, 13]

V

(1) Pat kāmak tō Ōhrmazd pat nēvakīh pātoxshāyīh bē kun x̌ēshān dāmān [ku x̌ēshān dāmān pat nēvakīh ast pātoxshāyīh bē kun], (2) pat kāmak āp, pat kāmak ōrvar, pat kāmak harvisp āpātīh [i Ōhrmāzd-dāt], kē hach aharāδīh paδtākīh [bun ut bar ; ashān pātoxshāyīh bē kun].

(*1-2*) *At will do thou, O Ohrmazd*! *rule over Thine own creations with happiness* [*i. e. do Thou rule over Thine own creations with happiness which exists*], *at* (*Thy*) *will the waters, at* (*Thy*) *will the trees, at* (*Thy*) *will all prosperity* [*which* (*is*) *created by Ohrmazd*], *whose manifestation is from righteousness* [*origin and fruit* ; *do Thou rule over them*].

VI.

(1) Pātoxshāyīh ō ahrōβān dahēy ut apātoxshāyīh ō druvandān. (2) Kāmak x̌ātāδ hēnd ahrōβān ut a-kāmak-x̌atāδ hēnd dravandān, (3) ān i mat ēstēt hamistārīh bē barēnd hach spēnāk mēnōk dāmān pat vartakīh ut a-kāmak-x̌atāδīh.

(1) *Do Thou give unto the righteous the supreme-power and unto the infidel misrule* (*or anarchy*). (2-3) *May the righteous be rulers-at-will* (*or independent*) *and may the wicked be without free-power* ; *his opposition which has come*[9] *is removed from the creations of the* Holy *Spirit by means of imprisonment*[10] *and absence of free-power.*[14]

VII.

(1) Hāchānī man-ich kē Zartōsht hōm, ān i frāchtōm hach mānān ut vīsān, zandān, ut dēhān [Vīshtāspān], (2) ō ēn dēn apar-mēnishnīh ut apar-gōβishnīh ut apar-varzishnīh i Ōhrmazd ut Zastōsht.

(1) I who am Zartōsht will guide the leaders of the houses, villages, provinces and lands [pertaining to Vīshtāsp]; (2) to think, to speak and to act in conformity with this religion, which is of Ohrmazd, revealed by Zartosht.[14]

VIII

(1) Frāxih ut xārīh āfrīnom ō harvisp ān i ahrōβān sti. (2) Tangīh ut dush-xārīh āfrīnom ō harvisp ān i dravandān sti.

(1) I bless prosperity and comfort for the entire world of the righteous. (2) I curse adversity and discomfort for the entire world of the wicked.

Notes.

1. *frāch-aparīkānīh*: is the Pahl. translation of Av. frasasti, Skt. praśasti- sb. fem. meaning 'glorification, praise, fame.' Variant generally found in Pahl. translation is 'frāch vāvarīkānīh' derived from vāvarīkān, Arm. vaverakan, vaver, 'believable, reliable, authentic' (Hbm Arm. Gram. I. 100), mid. pt. vābarīgān from the inf. varravistan, MP. giravastan, Av. var- 'to belive', +īh abst. noun suffix, meaning 'belief', cf. Pāz. gvāfrangānī. For the formation of the Mid. Pers, word, see Bartholomae ZSR,IV. 30. cf. Pahlavi vanant yašt where Pāz. guāfrangān is translated by 'afrīn gowishnīh', vide my Pahlavi Version of Yašts, p. 72 ; see Shāyast Nē Shāyast ch. 10. 18: aparīkān meaning 'superior' or 'authoritative', but Tavadia reads the word vāvarīkān and translates 'trustworthy'. In the footnotes he adds that the first word as it is, can be read aparīkān, meaning 'upper ones' in Šv. 4. 51 (SNS.p.135). The correct reading is, according to my view, frāch aparīkānīh, meaning 'superiority'. Darmesteter translates Av. word frasasti- by 'glorification'; Ervad Kanga (Av. Dict. p. 347) translates it by (i) 'teaching, precept' (ii) 'praise, glory, glorification'; Bartholomae (Air Wb. 1000) takes it as inf. and translates 'to glorify' and gives its Pahl. version frāz āfrīnagānīh. Unwala follows Bartholomae and remarks 'Mss. āfrīkānīh as often' (Skt. Version of Hōm Yasht p. 1, fn. 3). Hertel 110 F 7. 56. translates the term by 'instruction, authority, authorisation'; Skt. Version renders it by prakāśana- : 'illuminating, promulgating'.

2. *arzānīk* means 'worthy'; it is the Pahl. tr. of Av. hanghāne (var. hanghāna) Perf. 3 sg. of the root han- 'to deserve, be worthy of', class I: meaning 'he has been worthy of, he has deserved' var. hanghān- perf. 2pl. 'you have deserved.' Pahlavi does not help us since it gives merely 'arzānīk' without any predicate.

3. *franāmishn*: verbal noun from inf. franāmītan, causative from franamītan, Av. fra-nam, 'to go forth, to direct'. This inf. is replaced in Pahl. by its doublet franaftan. Sometimes we find the word written fra sham ītān (DKM. 417, 22). Here we have the ideogram sham used for the phonetic 'nām' in the middle of a word. The word franāmishn lit. 'turning to'

is the Pahl. tr. of Av. frə̄rəticha, which Ervad Kanga (Av. Dict.p.357) translates '(i) piety, sanctity, religiousness', (ii) 'coming out, appearing'. Bartholomae (Air Wb 1023) translates (i) 'ambition, zeal, (ii) coming, arrival' deriving it from ar- with fra- pref. meaning 'to come forward, to put in motion', (iii) 'offering' from ar- 'to grant, allot' with fra- pref. cf. the phrase 'para ushāongām frə̄rətoit, meaning 'at the approach of the dawn' (Hadhokht Naskor Yasht XXII, 4). The word franāmishn is further explained by the Pahl. gloss thus : ku kash chish dahēnd ā-sh khvēsh ō bavēt i.e, 'when they give him anything, it becomes his own'.

Av. word fravarānē is always translated into Pahl. by 'franāmom' lit. 'I turn to, I proclaim' and Av. fraorənta- 'he professed the religion' is translated into Pahl. by 'franāft' which is further explained by the gloss rōwāk bē kart='propagated, promulgated, made current'. The same word franāft is also the Pahl. version of Av. fritha (Srōsh Yasht) and frerenaot (Yas. 11. 4) respectively. See my Pahlavi Version of Yashts. cf. Gāthā Ushtavaiti Hā. 46, 4) where Av. frāretish is translated into Pahl. by hach frānamishn : ash pāyēnd gōspand hach franāmishn-ku-sh hach dāt ō kasān ō pātīrānēnd= 'they hinder the beneficent animals from advancing i. e., they prevent them from being given to others' ; vide my book : Pahlavi Version of Gāthā Ushtavaiti, reprinted from 'A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies Presented to Sir E. Denison Ross pp. 179-191-.

4. *amahrspandēt* : the temination ēt is appended to the word amahrspand in imitation of Persian. Here the suffix ēt seems to be an abbreviated form of hēt, pres. 2. pl. see Salemann : *Middle Persian Grammar* p. 105 fn. 2. The word amahrspandēt is the Pahl. tr. of Av. amaesha spenta. voc. sg. 'O Holy Immortals' cf. Pahl. Vend. XVIII 16, where we find the termination ēt appended to the word anshūtā (ideogram of Ir. martōm).

5. *zīyāt*='may live', from inf. zīvastan, 'to live, survive'. It is the Pahl. tr. of Av. jīshtayamnō (Var. Jyastyamanō). Bartholomae (Air Wb. 610) translates 'falsely passing off as, pretending as', without any etymology. Ervad Kanga (Av. Dict. p. 193) takes it as denom. pres. part. ātmane. nom. sg. and translates 'passing one's life'. The Pahlavi translator has seen in the Av. word jī-zīvastan 'to live' and hence translated zīvāt, conj. 3 sg. and it is further explained by the Pahl. gloss 'ku bahr dāsr i vēhān khvarāt = 'he may partake of a portion of the gift of the faithful'. Bulsara (Aērpatastān p. 367 fn. 6.) takes Av. jīshtayamanō as a demon. pres. part. formed from 'jīshti' which is to be traced to jīsh-, 'to win, and he refers to 'zīnāt' in Yas. XI and translates 'seizing' (ibid. fn. 7). I think the Av. word may be derived from jadh-, 'to beseech, request, pray', meaning 'requesting, praying'. If we take the Pahl. word as zīnāt it then means 'may injure by inflicting a loss' cf. Pahl. Yas XI. 17. zīnēt- Av. zināt, Bulsara further

remarks, 'The reference here seems to be to a person of pretentious looks and false motives, who joins in a worship not because he sincerely regards it his duty to do so but because that must enable him to receive a Mazdayasna's share of the offerings', (ibid. fn. 9. p. 367). Nīrangasfan gives 'zia i sht' which may be read zaidhisht, (compare Av. jadh-) 'requested, beseeched'.

6. *apar-gōftārān*, variant : frāch-gōftārān 'reciters, invokers'; it is the Pahl. tr. of Av. aiwi-zūzuyanām, gen. pl. of aiwi-zūzuyana, middle participle from the root zav- 'to invoke', with aiwi- prefix. Bartholomae (Air Wb. 94 , 1668) explains the word as mid. part. used in the passive sense and translates : 'requested, called'. There are two meanings of zav- in the Avesta : 1) to call, invoke ; 2) to curse. The Pahlavi versionist generally translates the first meaning in Yasna by karītūntan, ideogram of khvāntan cf. Yas. 43, 10; 50, 1; but in Pahlavi Version of Hāvan Gāh 4 we find Av. word zaozizuyē translated by būlandtar khvādishnīh. Here Av. root zav- 'to pray, to invoke, to call' is translated by khvāstan instead of the usual rendering khvānan or its Semitic equivalent karītūntan. It appears that khvānishn and khvādishn are confounded by the translator. Note also the development of -y- from a reduplicated participle zūzuvāna- between two vowels as in NPers. gōyad from gaub-.

7. *awīkānīh* : the reading awīkānīh was suggested by Bartholomae in WZKM. 30. 35 ; see Note on Sassanian Law, part I. p. 16, translated from the German by L. Bogdanov. The word is commonly translated 'inconsistency, contradiction' by scholars ; cf. Dēnkart Vol. XII. p. 30 : an-awīkān which Dastur Darab Sanjana translates 'harmoniously, non-conflictingly' ; see fn. 4. p. 21. vol. XI. sec. cix. 2. Dastur Darab Sanjana reads anbasānīh and translates 'difference' (of opinion), dispute, conflict', comparing with Pers. basān, 'like, resembling', also cf. Dēnkart Vol. XV. ch. 18, sec. 48 l. 11 on p. 53. We come across the word an-anbasānīh', 'symmetry, orderliness'. Bulsara (Nīrangastān p. 369) reads han basānīh or av-basānīh and compares it with Pers. basān = resembling and translates 'similitude'. He in his book : *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, p. 442, ch. 37. 21 reads the word an-basānīk and translates 'inconsistent' but the Glossary p. 625 s. v. shows ch. 38, 21 instead. See Shkand Vīmānīk Vichār ch. 16. 42 : añbasānīhā. There remains no longer any doubt that this Pāz. word, with the regular adverbial ending īhā, means 'contrarily, contradictorily, inconsistently', and is rightly rendered here by Neryosang with anibaddhatayā 'with inconsistency, incoherently' (consult Bartholomae WZKM. 30. 32-36). There is uncertainty, however, with regard to the reading of the base form in Pahlavi from which it is derived, that being written in Pahlavi letters 'aned b dān(n)' which Bthl. (*loc cit*)

proposes to read awīkān, comparing Skt. abhīka- (cf. Jackson : *Researches in Manichaeism* p. 198. s. v.).

8 ē : adj. one ; 2) as indefinite pron., 3) demonstrative pron. 'this'. Av. aētām, acc. sg. According to Bartholomae the word aētām is rather a haplological abbreviation of aētatā- from aēta- meaning (1) glimnering, indicating different colours (cf. Skt. eta-) ; (2) share, portion, punishment ; (3) this (Air Wb. 19). Bartholomae remarks that the meaning 'punishment' would suit the context better ; see Franang i Oim by Reichelt, passage 20. 1 ff......yō *aēta* pairi arəthra frazānaiti. Reichelt translates it by 'offence and punishment'. Bulsara (Nirangastan p. 369) translates aētąm by 'similitude', deriving from a root i or it 'to resemble.' It is doubtful here whether the word ē is the Pahl. tr. of aētąm or the word is left out untranslated in Pahlavi. I think the Pahl. translator has been in Av. word aētąm, demonstative pronoun and hence translated ē.

9. ān i *mat estet* : is the Pahl. tr. of Av. gatō, derived from the root gam to go + ta past part. termination, meaning 'gone' i.e. from the world of the righteous ; defeated', Bartholomae (ZSR part I p. 47 note. 1 tr, by Bogdanov) reads mat, referring to Air Wb. 1181 f. under Pahl. translation mih and basing himself for the rendering of mih ēstātan by 'to behave decliningly, to deny, to contest', upon Ancient Indian *mithyā kartum* in Roth and Böhtlingk's Wörterbuch 5. 778 and Böhtlingk : Sanskrit Wörterbuch 5, 79 a, b. He draws attention to the passage in Dēnkart which also deals with āpām 'debt' and hambāyān 'partners'. It runs thus : apar patkārishn i āpām i pitarān ka ēvak hach hambāyān khvastūk ut apārīk *mih* ēstand 'on the law suit for the debts of the parents, when one of the partners recognises them and the others contest them' (DKM. 713, 20).

10. *pat vartakīh* : lit. 'by turning off' derived from vartak, past part. pass. from vartītān, 'to turn,' meaning 'turned, lost, destroyed' + īh abst. noun suffix. It is the Pahl. translation of Av. varatō (var. varətō) 'hemmed in, shut out' (Mills) ; 'having failed (in his scheme—Kanga) ; 'surrounded, deprived of free movement', root var- 'to surround (Bartholomae)', cf. Vend. V. 37 : varətąm- adj. meaning 'captive, captured, driven away as booty' which is translated into Pahl. pat vartakīh. Also cf. Vend. XVIII. 42.

11. *āfrīnom* : Av. āfrīhāmi, 'I pray, I bless'. The root ā- fri- is also used in the sense of 'to curse', here as well as in Yas Hā. XI. Bartholomae (Air Wb. 331) says that the word āfrivachah- adj. lit. 'speaking benedictions' is used euphemistically for 'uttering curses' and this meaning is evident from the Pahl. as well as the Skt. glosses, viz. ku nifrīn kunand, and kila śāpāni kurvanti = 'they pronounce curses'. The word *āśis-* is never used in the sense of 'curse' in Skt. literature. For Av. āfrī in the sense of 'curse', see Sitzwngsberichte der philos-philol und historischen klasse der K. Bayerischen Akadamieder Wissenschaften, (1868) 2. 536.

12. For the sake of comparison I give below the Avestan text of sections 2-4 and my translation of the same.

Text : (2) X̌arata narō aētēm myazdəm yōi dim hanghānē ashācha īrēreticha. (3) Amesha Spenta, daēnē Māzdayasnē, vanghavascha, vanguhī-shcha, Zaothrāoscha ! Yō aēshva mazdayasnaēshva mazdayasnō aojanō ashahē rāthma Jīshtayamnō., yāthwa gaēthāo, ashahē meregnēntē ; avi tū dim disyata yāo apascha, urvarāoscha, zaothrāoscha. (4) yascha aētaēshām mazdayasna-nām pərənāyunām aiwi-zūzuyanām imā vachō nōit visaiti framsuitē, aētāmā yātumanahē Jasaiti.

Translation : (2) Partake of this votive-offering ye, men, who have deserved it on account of piety and coming [to the ceremony]. (3) O Holy Imnortals, O religion of Mazdā-Worship, O ye good men and good women, and O ye votive-offerings ! Whoso amongst these Mazdā-worshippers, calling himself a Mazdā-worshipper and falsely passing off as (one deserving) the share of righteousness, destroys the world of righteousness through sorcery , do you who are waters, vegetation and votive-offerings, mark him out. (4) And he who amongst these Mazda-worshippers, of full age, invoking diligently, is not ready to recite this formula, will attain to the punishment for his evil practice.

13. Cf. Bulsara's Aērpatastân and Nīrangastân pp. 367-369 and SBE. Vol. 31, p. 230 , for translation of Av. text sections 2-4.

14. For the translation of Av. text sections 5-7, see Tara-porewala's Selections from Avesta Part I, Selection IV. Tandorosti-Yasna LX., sections 10-11 pp 108-109 ; also cf. Zand i khurtak Avistāb ed. by Dhabhar, p. 13. sections 5-6 for Pahlavi text.

A Comparative Study of Udgītha's Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda.

By

C. G. KASHIKAR, *Poona.*

Udgītha's *bhāṣya* on some portion of the tenth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* (from X, 5, 4, to X, 34, 3) has been published by the D. A-V. College Research Department, Lahore. The book has no preface describing the MSS. material on which the text of the *bhāṣya* is based. The *bhāṣya* is much corrupt. It, however, bears great similarity to Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* and has therefore been used for constituting the text of the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* in the fourth volume of the Poona edition of the *Ṛgveda*. Pandit Bhagawaddatta of Lahore, possessed a further transcript of the *bhāṣya* (from X, 34, 5 to X, 83, 5) which has also been used for the same purpose. The chief advantages derived from the *Udgītha bhāṣya* for editing the *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* as noted in the introduction to Vol. IV are (1) that certain conjectural readings in *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* have been supported by the *Udgīthabhāṣya*, and (2) that the claim of the भ class of MSS i.e., the Deccan tradition, to represent Sāyaṇa's archtypus to the greatest extent, has been supported by it. The study of *Udgīthabhāṣya* was restricted there to the requirements relating to the constitution of Sāyaṇa's text. It is proposed here to make a more detailed study of the same in comparison with *Sāyaṇa's bhāṣya*

Udgītha (= U.) was a predecessor of Sāyaṇa (= S.) since he is referred to at least once in Sāyaṇa's commentary (cf. RV. X, 42, 2). There were at least three more predecessors of Sāyaṇa, namely Skandasvāmin (= Sk.), Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya (= Mv.) and another Mādhava (= M.), whom S. must have presumably consulted while writing his own commentary. It is interesting to see to what extent S. was influenced by each of his predecessors. The comparison would also throw light on the position of Ṛgveda interpretation in the mediaeval period, whether it formed a connected link or whether the commentaries were stray attempts at interpreting the Veda. These pre-Sāyaṇa commentaries have been partly published[1], but unfortunately the X Maṇḍala portion of them is not yet available. Had it been so, a direct comparison of all the commentaries would have been possible and the position of S. in relation to his predecessors would have at once become clear. The published portion can, however, serve the purpose to a certain extent. For finding out their influence on S. let us compare all the commentaries on RV. 1, 31, 2, as a specimen in chronological order :—

1. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Skandasvāmin's commentary,* Aṣṭaka I, edited by by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras. *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, a commentary on the Ṛgveda by Mādhava, son of Veṅkatārya, Maṇḍalas. I-IV edited by Dr. L. Sarup. *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* Mādhavakṛtā, Aṣṭaka I, Adhy. 1-4, edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras.

त्वमग्ने प्रथमो अङ्गिरस्तमः कविर्देवानां परि भूषसि व्रतम् ।
विभुर्विश्वस्मै भुवनाय मेधिरो द्विमाता शयुः कतिधा चिदायवे ॥

Sk--त्वं हे अग्ने प्रथमः अङ्गिरस्तमः शरीरस्थितिहेतोरशितपीतरसस्यातिशयेन कर्ता । ऋषिवचनेनांगिरःशब्देनोत्पत्तिकारणम् । कविर्मेधावी देवानां स्वभूतं परिभूषसि । परिपूर्वो भवतिः सर्वत्र परिग्रहे । परिगृह्णासि । व्रतं यागाख्यं कर्म । किंच विभुरीश्वरः । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय । तादर्थ्ये एषा चतुर्थी । सर्वस्य भूतजातस्यार्थाय । मेधिरः यज्ञवान् । यज्ञस्य संपादयितेत्यर्थः । द्वे द्यावापृथिव्यौ वा अरणी वा मातरौ यस्य स द्विमाता । शयुः । शयतिरत्र स्थानार्थः । आमाशयो जलाशय इति यथा । व्यवस्थातेत्यर्थः । कतिधा चित् कतिभिरपि प्रकारैः । कस्यार्थाय । आयवो मनुष्याः । और्वशेयः पुरूरवसः पुत्र आयुः । तस्यार्थाय । कतिधा पुनर्व्यवस्थाता ? उच्यते । अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासादिषु तावदाहवनीयत्वात् त्रिधा । पिण्डपितृयज्ञचातुर्मास्येषु चतुर्धा प्रणीतातिरेकात् । पशौ पञ्चधा शामित्रातिरेकात् । सोम आग्नीध्रस्य धिष्ण्यातिरेकात् यावत्तावत्संख्यात्वम् ।

Mv.--त्वमग्ने प्रथमः । त्वमग्ने प्रथमोऽङ्गिरसां च वरिष्ठः कविर्यज्ञमलङ्करोषि सर्वस्मै भुवनायानेकशरीरो भवन् प्राज्ञो द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता पुरूरवसः पुत्रायायवे गार्हपत्यादिव्यूहेनानेकधा शयानः ॥

M.—त्वमग्ने अङ्गिरस्तम अङ्गिरसां वरिष्ठतमः परिभवसि यज्ञम् । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय । बहुधा भवन् । सर्वं (भु) वनमुद्दिश्य 'विश्वं विशे विशे' इति ॥ मेधिरः प्रज्ञावान् । द्विमाता द्वैमातु(रः) द्वयोररण्योरजनि । द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्मातेत्येके । शयुः । कतिधा चिदायवे। मनुष्याय । कतिधा बहुधेत्यर्थः । शयानः । कतिधा शयुर्भवतीति प्रश्नो वा इति ॥ (M's commentary is incorrect. The corrections suggested by the editor have been included in the passage.)

S—हे अग्ने त्वं प्रथम आद्यः अङ्गिरस्तमः अतिशयेन अङ्गिरा भूत्वा कविर्मेधावी सन् देवानामन्येषां व्रतं कर्म परिभूषसि । परितः अलङ्करोषि । कीदृशस्त्वम् । विश्वस्मै भुवनाय समस्तलोकानुग्रहार्थं विभुः बहुविधः । आहवनीयाद्यनेकरूपधारीत्यर्थः । मेधिरः मेधावान् द्विमाता द्वयोः अरण्योः उत्पन्नः । यद्वा । द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता । आयवे मनुष्यार्थं कतिधा चित् कतिभिः प्रकारैः सर्वत्र शयुः शयानः । तत्तन्मनुष्यगृहेऽवस्थितस्य तव प्रकारा इयन्त इति न केनापि ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः ॥ (The grammatical notes following this are not reproduced here, since the other commentaries have remained aloof from them.)

It becomes at once clear by this comparison that all the three predecessors of S. explain the mantra in the same order of words as in the mantra. This peculiarity is also found in U. S., on the other hand, changes the order and adopts one suitable for the explanation. Secondly, S. gives detailed grammatical notes on all the words in the mantra, while none of these three commentators has done so. The commentary of Mv. is merely a gloss. He is anterior to M. On the other hand, Sk. is a predecessor of Mv. Sk. explains the word **द्विमाता** as **द्वे द्यावापृथिव्यौ वा अरणी वा मातरौ यस्य ।** The option of **द्यावापृथिवी** or **अरणी** shows that there was not a definite tradition of the meaning of the word even in the time of Sk. Mv. explains the word by **द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता** i. e., differently from Sk. M. who is posterior to Mv.

preferred one of the options of Sk. by saying द्वैमातुरः द्वयोररण्योरजनि । But at the same time he recorded the view of Mv. by saying द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्मातेत्येके । Curiously enough S. exactly followed M. by giving the twofold explanation द्वयोर् अरण्योर् उत्पन्नः । यद्वा द्वयोर्लोकयोर्निर्माता ।

Now, since Udgītha's *bhāṣya* on this portion is not available, we have to satisfy ourselves with a specimen from the available portion. Let us compare the commentary on RV. X, 7, 2 :—

इमा अग्ने मतयस्तुभ्यं जाता गोभिरश्वैरभिगृणन्ति राधः ।
यदा ते मर्तो अनु भोगमानड् वसो दधानो मतिभिः सुजात ॥

U—हे अग्ने इमा मतयः स्तुतयः तुभ्यं त्वदर्थं जाताः अस्मदादिस्तोतृमुखादुत्पन्नाः, उच्चारिता इत्यर्थः । गोभिरश्वैश्च सहितं राधः धनं हिरण्यादिकमभिगृणन्ति अभिष्टुवन्ति । अहो शोभनमस्मदनुरूपमिति प्रशंसन्ति । कदा ? उच्यते—यदा यस्मिन् काले ते तव स्वकं भोगं भोगार्हं धनं मर्तोऽस्मदादिको मनुष्योऽन्वानट् त्वत्तो दानानन्तरं प्राप्नोति लभते तदेत्यर्थः । एतज्ज्ञात्वा हे वसो ! प्रशस्यवसुमन् वासवसुभूत वा स्वेन तेजसा सर्वस्याच्छादयितर्वा सुजात सुजन्मन् शोभनकर्मार्थमुत्पन्न वा । दधानः अस्मभ्यं ददद्धनं मतिभिः स्तुतिभिस्त्वया दत्तं धनं स्थापयेति शेषः । अस्मत्स्तुत्यनुरूपमस्मभ्यं धनं देहीत्यभिप्रायः ॥

S—हे अग्ने इमा ईदृश्यो मतयः स्तुतयस्तुभ्यं त्वदर्थं जाता अस्मदादिस्तोतृमुखादुत्पन्नाः । उच्चारिता इत्यर्थः । गोभिरश्वैश्च सहितं राधस्त्वया दीयमानं हिरण्यादिकं धनम् अभिगृणन्ति अभिष्टुवन्ति । अस्मत्स्तुत्यनुरूपान्नमस्मभ्यं त्वया दत्तमिति प्रशंसन्ति । यदा मर्तोऽस्मदादिको मनुष्यस्ते त्वया दीयमानं भोगं भोगार्हं धनमन्वानट् प्राप्नोति लभते तदा हे वसो प्रशस्यवसुमन् । यद्वा । स्वेन तेजसा सर्वस्याच्छादयितः । हे सुजात शोभनकर्मार्थमुत्पन्नाग्ने त्वं दधानोऽस्मभ्यं धनं प्रयच्छन् मतिभिरस्मदीयाभिः स्तूयस इति शेषः ॥

The comparison clearly shows that S. almost literally follows U. while he does not do so in the case of others. The above specimen can conveniently be taken to represent the general agreement between U. and S. Unfortunately U. is not available on the whole of the Ṛgveda. Had it been so, it would certainly have helped the *Ṛgveda* interpretation in general and the study of S. in particular. Now I shall proceed to a thorough comparison of U. and S. from different aspects.

As compared to S. the construction in U.'s is rather loose and rough. Words are generally explained in the same order in which they stand in the verse, which renders the explanation not quite easy. S. changes the order as required for explanation. Consequently U. often gives the subject and predicate and then reproduces the subsequent words by saying कीदृशाः, कस्य, किं, कस्मै, किमर्थम् etc. (e. g. see U. on RV. X, 11, 1; 28, 7-8). He does not necessarily reproduce the *pratīka* which S. does. U. does not give the introduction to each hymn. When he does so, he never gives the *viniyoga* of hymn or verse, nor quotes the *Anukramaṇī*. He simply mentions the author and deity of a hymn and gives the number of verses in a hymn. S. gives a full introduction to a hymn. He mentions the

author, metre, deity, number of verses in the hymn, then quotes the *Anukramṇī* and also gives the ritual application of the same. Sometimes U. shows in the introduction the relation of a hymn to the preceding one, e. g. see U. on RV. X, 9. Sometimes he gives the ritual application of a verse in the commentary itself, cf. RV. X, 17, 11. He pays attention to the *Bṛhaddevatā* while explaining the verse, e. g. RV. X, 19, 1 (Bṛh. VII, 20). He shows the relation of verses when possible, e. g. RV. X, 10, 8-9. If necessary, he explains two verses together, e. g. RV. X, 26, 2-3 ; 33, 7-8. He explains verses without borrowing words as far as possible. He counts Adhyāyas and not Aṣṭakas ; see the end of 5th Adhyāya of Aṣṭaka VII. As already pointed out (vide Intro. to Vol. IV, Poona edn.), the Kashmir MS of Ṛgveda and the MSS of *S'āṅkhāyana S'ākhā of the Ṛgveda* also enumerate the Adhyāyas and not the Aṣṭakas. U. pays more attention to the Khilas of the *Ṛgveda*. RV. X, 9, is a hymn of 9 verses, while U. says it has ten verses and counts and explains सहुषीस्तदपसो as the tenth (khailika) verse. A different enumeration is also found in U. after RV. X, 18. Another clear proof for the significance attached to the *Khilas* by U. is contained in the commentary on RV. X, 10, 3 where he refers to a *Khila* quotation : मम चित्तमनु चित्तं ते अस्तु (see Khila III, 15, 1, Vol, IV, Poona edn). This tendency is not so keen in S. It is striking to find an old commentator like U. explaining the word इन्द्र by परमेश्वर, त्रैलोक्याधिपति at least in a few cases, cf. RV. X, 6, 6 ; 8, 7 ; 27, 6 ; 32, 8. Such metaphysical explanation is not expected of him. Another peculiarity of U. is that he always explains the upasarga आ by मर्यादया, e.g. RV. X, 14, 5 ; 16, 5 ; 26, 6 ; 28, 4. This is unnecessary in many places. S. is not guilty of such explanation. Sometimes U. goes into unnecessary details. In the commentary on RV. X, 12, 4 he says स्नानपानाचमनस्य निष्पादनादिसंस्कारेण where S. simply says स्नानपानादिना । The commentary of both U. and S. on each verse is generally of the same size. In a few cases U. gives a fuller commentary than S. cf. RV. X, 7, 6; 8, 2; 3 ; 7 ; 10, 4 ; 11, 6. His commentary on X. 31, 7 too is more elaborate than S. In fact S. was expected here to develop the commentary by resorting to philosophical discussion. The similarity of construction between U. and S. is such that most of the quotations from Vedic and allied literature are common to both. Only in a few cases the quotations in U. are not found in S., cf. com. on RV. X, 8, 2 ; 6 ; 23, 1 ; 2 ; 27, 2 ; 8 ; 19 ; 29, 5. On the other hand there are a few quotations in S. which are not found in U., cf. RV.X, 5, 7 ; 11, 7 ; 17, 10 ; 11 ; 30, 11 ; 33, 1 ; 3 ; 34, 1.

One of the characteristics of S. is that he gives optional renderings not only of individual words but also of certain verses on the basis of etymology and ritual application. One is inclined to gather from this fact that the method of *Rgveda* interpretation had not come down to him in a uniform tradition. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that we find also in U. double explanations of words and also of certain verses. A comparison of U. and S. in this respect is of some interest. Double explanations of certain words in U. are not found in S. who offers a single explanation for

them, e.g. ऋत्विजः X, 6,5; 7, 5; व्रजम् X, 26, 3; जरिमाणः X, 27, 21; नियवम् X, 30, 10, व्रतम् X, 33, 9. For three verses U. offers a twofold explanation. The explanation of X, 27, 8 is based on two different meanings of the word गो, namely a cow and the people. S. has adopted the former explanation which renders गो by cow. For the 13th verse in the same hymn U. offers two renderings with the beginnings अनया वासुकं इन्द्रं स्तौति and अथवा आदित्यात्मना इन्द्रः स्तूयते respectively. S. adopts the latter. For the 14th verse again U. offers two renderings by saying विद्युदात्मनेन्द्रः स्तूयते and अथवादित्यात्मनेन्द्रः स्तूयते. S. prefers the latter. On the other hand, there are cases where S. offers optional renderings while U. has got single ones. In the commentary on X, 5, 6, S. renders सप्त मर्यादाः in two ways, namely पानमक्षाः स्त्रियो मृगया दण्डः पारुष्यमन्यदूषणमिति and स्तेयं गुरुतल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्यां सुरापानं दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनःपुनः सेवां पातकेऽनृतोद्यम् (Nir. VI, 27). U. has only the latter. S. renders दक्षस्य in X, 5, 7, first by प्रजापतेः and again by आदित्यस्य. U. has the former. S. has two grammatical explanations for सहस्रं मितः in X, 18, 12, the latter of which is from U. Besides he gives double renderings of X, 22, 14; 27, 15 and 32, 9, the former of which are from U.

There are at least four cases where U. differs from the Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda; while S. does not. In X, 6, 6, there is वाजे न which U. reads as one and renders by अन्नेन. In the same verse again there is a word इन्द्रवाततमाः which U. divides and reads इन्द्र वाततमाः In X, 27, 24 the *Saṁhitā* is मा स्मैतादृक्; the Pada text is मा स्म एतादृक् while U. reads मा अस्मै तादृक्. The editor of U. remarks that he had a MS of *Ṛgveda padapāṭha* the colophon of whose seventh Aṣṭaka informed that the pada text was written by Rāvaṇa. In the MS the Pada text originally read मा अस्मै तादृक्, just like U. but somebody turned it afterwards into the regular Pada text. In X, 33, 4, U. reads आवृणि for अवृणि. It is to be noted that S. too differs from the *Padapāṭha* in many places and we find a typical case where U. and S. seem to agree in differing from the *Padapāṭha*. In the commentary on X, 16, 11 S. reads वोचतु for वोचति and renders by प्रब्रवीतु. U. does not quote the pratīka itself but renders it by प्रकथयतु which clearly shows that he must have read वोचतु।

Even though there is great similarity between U. and S. yet there are places where S. differs from U.[1] U. considers X, 32, 8, as addressed to Indra and S. to Agni. In X. 33. 6-9, Kavaṣa consoles Upamaśravas on the death of his father, King Mitrātithi. U. explains the last pāda of verse 7 quite rationally: पितुः ते तव उपमश्रवससंबन्धिनः। अस्मि भवामि। वन्दिता स्तोता पुरोहितः ऋत्विग्वेत्यर्थः। एवं सति त्वं चाहं च तुल्यशोकौ। एतज्ज्ञात्वा मा शोकं कार्षीः। अहं तव पितृस्थानीयो जीवामीत्यभिप्रायः।

S. says : ते तव पितुस्तस्य मित्रातिथेरहं वन्दिता स्तोतास्मि। एतज्ज्ञात्वा शोकं मा कुरु। यद्देयं द्रव्यमस्ति तत्सर्वं मह्यं देहि।

In certain cases U. and S. differ from each other in rendering certain words[2].

1. See RV. X, 5, 5, c,d; 7, 1; 4d; 8, 1d; 10, 9; 12, 3; 17, 13; 18, 10; 22, 11; 27, 10; 24; 28, 2 a, b; 33, 1; 6; 7.

2. e. g. गन्धर्वीः X, 11, 2; द्यावः X, 12, 4; गातु X, 14, 2; मातली X, 14, 3; क्रियाम्बु X, 16, 13; जनित्वम् X, 18, 8; त्वत्परि (grammatical explanation) X, 18, 13; बर्हणा and नवन्त X, 22, 9; वसवानः X, 22, 15; विवाचः, मृध्रवाचः X, 23, 5; रणत् X, 25, 1; प्सुरः X, 26, 3; मन्दिनः X, 28, 3; जरितः X, 28, 4; जरिमा, अममन् X, 32, 8; मघवानः X, 32, 9; चेत्रं नरएवमूचुषे X, 33, 6.

As for the *viniyoga* of the mantras, deities of the mantras and other things there is also some difference betwene U. and S. In the introduction to X, 17, U. says that the last four verses are addressed to the waters. In fact they are five which fact S. correctly observes. According to S. verses 7-14 in X, 18, are पितृमेधाभिधायिन्यः। अतस्तद्देवताकाः। while U. says शेषाः (=६-१४) पितृमेधकर्मणि पठिताः। तासां देवताः प्रयोगवशाज्ज्ञेयाः। तत्रतत्र यथाकथंचिच्छौनकेनालस्येनाशक्त्या वानिरूपितत्वादहमत्र येन मन्त्रेण यद्द्रव्यमभिधीयते प्राधान्येन तद्द्रव्यं तस्य मन्त्रस्य देवता इत्यनेन न्यायेनान्येन वा यथाप्राप्तं देवतामभिव्यञ्जयिष्यामि।

The deity is, however, not directly mentioned in verses 7 and 9. In the commentary on verse 10, he says that the following four are addressed to the goddess Earth. The *viniyoga* of each verse from the seventh onwards is given at the beginning of the *bhāṣya*. S. does not give *Gṛhya-viniyoga* of X, 18, 4-7. U. gives that of 4, 6 and 7[1]. In the commentary on X, 27, 23, U. calls *Nirukta* by *bhāṣya*. Curiously enough S. too calls *Nirukta* by the same term in the commentary on X, 29, 1; 30, 11. For X, 29, 1, U. offers two explanations, though in a corrupt state, one following the Padakāra S'ākalya and another following the *Nirukta*. S. admits both the explanations in a clearer way.

7. The exposition of U's commentary given above clearly shows that there is much similarity between the commentaries of U. and S. as a result of the borrowing from U. by S. Yet S. has not followed U. blindly. He uses his discretion and accepts only that part of U's commentary which he considers as reasonable; otherwise he differs from him and follows his own way. Moreover, we find a clear tendency in S. to offer such explanations of verses as would suit their ritual application, e. g. U's commentary on X, 27, 10, contains certain elements in addition to the ritual one, but S. retains only the ritual element and eliminates the rest, see also X, 27, 8. There are certain other verses which are not interpreted by U. from the ritual point of view. The general conclusion, therefore, is that S. has made abundant use of U. while writing his own commentary, that he has taken many portions from U. literally and that in the cases of different interpretations S. is definitely inclined towards the ritual aspect which is not so prominent in U. as well as the etymological aspect which is advocated by him in several places, e. g. RV. X, 106, 11.

The present study is restricted to the published portion of U. It may, however, safely be presumed that the results obtained here can most probably be confirmed by the study of the unpublished part. As we have stated in the introductian to the Ṛgveda Vol. IV (Poona edition, 1946) it will be a contribution to the history of Ṛgveda interpretation if the whole available portion of Udgītha bhāṣya will be published with a revision of the printed text.

1. 4–त्रिभिः पादैः मध्यमं परिदधाति। शान्तिकर्मणि चतुर्थेन पादेनात्मानमुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कृत्वा।
   6–अनया आनडुहे चर्मण्यमात्यान् आरोहयति शान्तिकर्मणि।
   7–अनयर्चा सर्पिषा अक्षिणी अञ्जाना नारीः ईक्षते श्मशानकर्मानन्तरम्।

Two cases of Aspirate-Dissimilation in the Veda.

By

VITTORE PISANI, *Milan.*

1. *úpa barbṛhi*

In the famous contest between Yama and Yamī (RV. X, 10) Yama says to his sister who contrives to induce him to what he deems an incest : उप बर्बृहि वृषभाय बाहुमन्यमिच्छस्व सुभगे पतिं मत् (10) which evidently must be translated 'Stretch out to a husband your arm ; another man from me you must seek for, lovely one'. But what is properly *úpa barbṛhi* ? Generally people think of √*bṛh* ; this is the case also with Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar,* 5th ed., p. 367, no. 1011*a,* who notwithstanding observes that '*barbṛhi* shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of *h* before the ending *hi*'. Indeed, one would expect something as *barbṛdhi*, cf. the passive participle *bṛḍha-* in S'Br. On the other side, the difficulty of connecting *barbṛhi* with √*bṛh* is not only a phonetical and morphological one : √*bṛh* means 'to be, to become big, or fat' ; how did it come to have the meaning of 'stretching out' ? Hermann Grassmann, in his *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* (1910) felt the difficulty and tried to cast it aside by comparing *upabarhaṇa-* ; but this word means 'cushion' as something 'swollen', and is by no means fit to constitute a bridge between the values of √*bṛh* and *úpa barbṛhi.*

All becomes clear, I think, both on the formal and on the semantical side, by assuming that this imperative certains the root √*bhṛ* 'to bring', with prefixed *úpa.* This root means precisely, 'to bring near, draw near', which is the value of our *úpa barbṛhi.* The intensive of √*bhṛ* sounds in Ṛgveda, > *bharibhṛ-* (classical > *bharī-bhṛ*) and *jar-bhṛ,* it can also have, or not, the intermediate *-i-* between reduplication and root ; naturally in the second case the reduplication loses its aspiration, according to the usual rule.

From an intensive *bar-bhṛ,* the second person of imperative is *bar-bṛ-hi,* with the old dissimilation of aspirates which here, in an archaic text, is maintained as in *vidátha-*, 'feast' from √*vidh* 'to worship' and specially in the imperatives *bodhí* and *jahí* from √*bhū* and √*han* ; cf. Wackernagel : *Altindische Grammatic,* vol. I, p. 128. Our *barbṛhi* is, moreover, so isolated that the connection with √*bhṛ* was probably no more felt so as to get it restored to **barbhṛhi.*

It might be objected that Ṛgveda V, 61, 5, has a form *upabarbṛhat* in the passage : श्यावाश्वस्तुताय या दोर्वीरायोपबर्बृहत् 'she that will stretch out her arm to the man extolled by S'yāvās'va', which cannot

be reported to √*bhṛ*. But the hymn V, 61, is, as Oldenberg pointed out (cf. *R. N.* I, p. 353), an 'addition to the original collection, surely from V. 5 on, but doubtless also the first four verses'. It is in consequence more recent than the dialogue of Yama and Yamī, one of the oldest pieces of the tenth Maṇḍala. Now, the imitation of X, 10, 10, is obviously evident in the younger passage: it is clear that the author of this did no more understand the grammatical value, that is, the pertinence to √*bhṛ*, of *barbṛhi*, and interpreted it, in spite of grammar and of semantics, as a form of √*bṛh*, just as modern Sanskritists do; therefore he has made his conjunctive *barbṛhat*, from √*bṛh* instead of √*bhṛ* on the ground of a curious misunderstanding of old *barbṛhi*.

2. *Madugha*—.

In a love-spell, AV. I, 34, 4, the loving man says:

मधोरस्मि मधुतरो मदुघान् मधुमत्तरः ।
मामित्किल त्वं वनाः शाखां मधुमतीमिव ॥

'Sweeter I am than honey, sweeter than *madúgha*; may you love me as a sweet branch'.

Madúgha must be kind of a sweet plant, probably the same which is spoken of in the last pāda as a *śā́khā mádhumatī*, liquorice or the like. Whence can the word be derived? I think it to be a haplology of *madhu-dúgha-* 'milking sweetness', an adjective that is employed in Ṛgveda VI, 70, 1; 5, of Heaven and Earth. It is interesting to note that of the two syllables subjected to haplology, *-dhu-* and *-du-*, the first one has been expelled, although the idea expressed by *madhu-* was the principal one in the compound: the choice has been made evidently to avoid the sequel of two aspirated syllables, *dhu* and *gha*.

Conception of God in the Vedas.*

By

K. SABHERWAL, *Lahore.*

In the Ṛgveda we find many gods mentioned in the different hymns.[1] These gods might be classified as the gods of heaven, the atmosphere and the earth.[2] The Vedic sages, however, were not inclined to divide their gods into any classes; for, they accepted them as the aspects of One, ultimately.[3] Moreover, any classification followed will not hold good for all the gods, as some of them do not seem to belong to any of these categories.

Among the gods of the sky, Dyaus is mentioned together with Pṛthvī.[4] Sometimes, he is identified with Indra.[5] He is understood by the sages as heaven itself and not as a separate 'god of heaven'. Thus, the different powers of nature worshipped by the Vedic sages were not conceived as different gods but, rather, as different entities constituting the different parts of one whole.[6] Varuṇa is praised as the most powerful one and the master of all. He is the very source of all that exists, life itself depends on him. He is called *svarāj*, *kṣatra* and *māyin*. All these emphasise the great dignity and power of the god. He is most probably the guardian of morality. He is the lord ot *ṛta* (laws of nature). He is dhṛta-vrata, ṛtasya gopā and *ṛtāvat* (the guardian and controller of law and order).[7] He is the moral aspect of the Supreme Reality or God. He is both the master and the standard of morality. He is prayed to that he might loosen the chains of worshippers. He is kind and friendly to those who are sinless. Moral laws are unchangeable and supreme. They must be followed by all. The Vedic sages accept the control and guidance of moral laws in the case of human thoughts too[8] : They find the objective standard of morality in God. He is a personal God loving all those who are moral and sinless, and obey his orders. Those who

*Unspecified references are to the Ṛgveda.

1. I, 45; III, 9; VIII, 28, 1; IX, 92; X. 52.
2. I, 139; X, 158.
3. VIII, 58; YV, 32., AV. 10, 7; 8.
4. 1, 54. 3-4; 55, 1; SV. II; VIII, 3, 14.
5. Cf. the views of Griswold, Hopkins etc.
6. I, 30; 141; VIII, 51, 1.
7. I, 122, 15; II, 27; 28; V, 62; 42; VI, 51; VII. 25; 34, 10; 49; 85; 86; 87; 89; 124; VIII, 41; 42; 90; 92; X, 37; 132.
8. I, 24; 25; IV, 42; V, 85; VII, 86; 88-9; VIII, 41.

commit sins lose his friendship.[1] Sūrya,[2] Savitṛ,[3] Mitra,[4] Viṣṇu,[5] Vivasvat,[6] Bhaga,[7] and Pūṣan[8] are mentioned as the sun-gods. Sūrya is supposed to be the eye of the Almighty, seeing all and knowing all. He is called Ātman of all that exists. Savitṛ signifies most probably the morning and evening twilights in the sky. Savitṛ is the stimulating power of the sun. He also helps and blesses human beings living on earth and they pray to him that he might stimulate their thoughts.[9] Mitra means a friend. He is Āditya who excites activity in human beings. Often his laws and powers resemble those of Varuṇa. He is also praised as the sustainer of all the gods. Viṣṇu may be accepted as the different stages in the journey of the sun. Vivasvat signifies the brilliance of the sun. He is called the father of human beings.

Bhaga often comes along with Savitṛ. He is also praised as *vidhartā*[10] or *vibhaktā*.[11] He is most probably that aspect of God that gives blessing to all. Pūṣan is the 'bestower of prosperity'.[12] All these grouped together with Aryaman, Indra, Dakṣa and Mārtaṇḍa make the twelve Ādityas. Uṣas is mentioned as the goddess of dawn. The hymns devoted to Uṣas express more of poetic appreciation than religious feelings. As'vins,[13] the twin gods, appear at the early dawn[14] and accept offerings at sunset.[15]

Among the gods of the atmosphere,[16] Indra is, most probably, the national god. He is praised as the master of all that exists. He is the god of the thunderstorm or lightning. He is a warrior-god. The Maruts are the helpers of Indra. They are called *Rudra* or *Rudriya* as they are sons of Rudra. They are praised as self-luminous and brilliant. They are associated with *vidyut* (lightning).[17] Vāyu and Vāta[18] are also gods of wind. Vāta is less personified than Vāyu. Vāta is associated with parjanya.[19] Rudra, Parjanya, Āpaḥ, Apām Napāt, Mātaris'van, Ahibudhnya and Aja Ekapād are also mentioned.[20].

1. V. 85, 8.
2. I, 115; VII, 38; 61-63; 77; X, 7; 16; 37; 90, 13.
3. I. 35; II, 38; IV, 53; V, 82; VI, 71; X, 17, 4.
4. III, 59.
5. I, 155; VI, 69, 5; VII, 99.
6. I, 155, 4; III, 55; VII, 40; X, 14; 17; 63.
7. III, 54, 14; VII, 38, 6.
8. II, 53; 55, etc.
9. III, 62, 10.
10. VII, 41, 2.
11. V, 46, 6.
12. Hopkins *RI*, p 50.
13. I, 22; III, 39; VIII, 35, 16.
14. I, 34; VIII, 5, 2; 9; 17; X, 61, 4.
15. V, 76, 3; VIII, 22, 14.
16. I, 7; 27; 32; 57; 81; 82, 6; III, 36; 45; IV, 46; 48; 53; VIII, 17; 33; 45. 55; X, 10; 112.
17. I, 64; V, 53; 54; 75; VIII, 7; 16.
18. I, 134; 142; IV, 46; 48; VII, 91; X, 85; 168.
19. V, 83; VII, 101; 102; IX, 82.
20. II, 35; VII, 9; X, 43.

Among the terrestrial gods we come across Agni,[1] Brahmaṇaspati, and Pṛthvī.[2]

We also come across such terms as Tvaṣṭṛ (designer),[3] Dhātṛ (creator),[4] Vidhātṛ (disposer),[5] Dhartṛ (the supporter),[6] Trātṛ (protector)[7] and Netṛ (leader). Both Indra[8] and Sūrya[9] are called Vis'vakarman at different places; but hymns are also sung in praise of Vis'vakarman[10] (the creator of the universe) at a later stage. He is the omnipotent creator of all that exists. He is also the wise disposer. He is all-knowing, the lord of speech (vācaspati). Prajāpati is also an adjective signifying the control over the universe. Savitṛ[11] as well as Soma[12] are called Prajāpati in different places. At a later stage, he is also accepted as an object of worship by himself.[13]

As the Ṛgvedic hymns are full of poetic inspiration and imagination it becomes difficult to trace any clear-cut conception of God; yet passages such as 'Amongst ye, O gods, none is small and you are all equally great,'[14] lead us to think that the gods praised in the Ṛgveda are nothing more than the powers or aspects of one allpowerful God who must be at the back of the mind of the Ṛgvedic sages, who found all that they saw and experienced in nature, constituting a complete whole. The Puruṣa Sūkta[15] expressing that there was nothing but Puruṣa and Puruṣa alone in the beginning, because at that time He was all that existed, clearly shows a tendency of the Vedic sages towards the conception of an essential unity in existence and towards monotheism.

The following hymns clearly show this tendency of the Vedic sages: "Let us all, in unison like friends, invoke God Almighty, best known in his revealed law for our protection and help in all endeavours for the attainment of things even most difficult to achieve and in all our battles in life'.[16] In the Sāma Veda, the grace of God, who is Almighty, is sought. He is praised as the one who confers benefits on his devotees from all around. He is requested to support his devotees from all directions. For them, God is Omnipotence.[17] He is always invoked by the good and righteous man.[18] He is also prayed to for saving human beings from sins.[19] In the Atharvaveda, Dyaus and Pṛthvī[20] are praised as the parents of the whole world. The righteous

1. I, 31; 60; 79; 97; 128; 146, III, 27; VII, 2. VIII, 23; 43; 44; 49; X, 81; 142.
2. I, 190; II, 23; 24; 40; VII, 97; X, 67; 68; 182.
3. I, 54;
4. I, 117, 22.
5-9. IX, 81, 5-6; X, 81; 82 and *passim* in Books 1-10.
10. VIII, 87, 2.
11. X, 170, 4.
12. IV, 53, 2.
13. IX, 5, 9.
14. VIII, 30, 1.
15. X, 90, 2.
16. V, 1, 30.
17. S. V. P. 5, 2, l. 3.
18. *Ibid.* P. 5, 2, 4.
19. *Ibid.* P, 5, 2, 5.
20. AV. I, 32, 1-4.

also pray to God, for the protection of their agricultural products against rains and storms.[1] Once Brahmātmā or the God as Ātman is also referred to. One who has a strong desire to know, knows the first principle which is mysterious. In Him the whole universe finds its unity and becomes one. The whole world is created out of Him. He is the ultimate source of all.[2] Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods are also mentioned.[3] In the Yajurveda many hymns are devoted to the praise of the Almighty. They go so far as to indicate the unity of all in God. 'Agni, is that, the Sun is that; Vāyu and Candramas are that. The Bright is that; Brahma is that, those waters, that Prajāpati.[4] They emphasize that Puruṣa is one, the resplendent one, the only source of all that exists.[5] He is Omnipresent.[6] He is all-knowing and the source of the eternal life of the gods.[7] There is also a tendency to identify the ultimate Reality with Ātman. He is Paribhu (Omnipresent) and Svayaṃbhu (Unborn).[8]

All this leads us to think that the concept of God as we find it in the Ṛgveda is not a very clear one. We find many gods mentioned there. All of them are objects of worship. Practically each one of them is praised as the supreme one in his turn. The Vedic sages might have conceived of all the powers of nature as the different powers or aspects of God, the Almighty or Vis'vedevāḥ or Prajāpati as mentioned in Yajurveda. Even in that case, this was not Pantheism. Agni, Varuṇa or Indra were never exactly identical with the material world. God, the Ultimate Reality might have been impersonal but the gods that were praised by the Vedic sages in their hymns, were personal. They were eternal, omnipresent and most probably omnipotent as well. They were believed to love their devotees. The utmost that we can say about the conception of God in the Vedic age, is that the Vedic sages believed in God, the creator, preserver and sustainer of the universe. The Vedas contain in them the germs of the conception of God as based on the highest monotheistic principles, the outcome of the logical reasoning of the Upaniṣadic sages.

1. *ibid.* I, 13, 1-4:
2. *ibid.* II, 1, 1-5.
3. *ibid.* Agni, I; II; VII; Indra II, IX.
4. YV, 32, 1.
5. *ibid.* 32, 2, 6, 8; 40, 1.
6. *ibid.* 32, 4.
7. *ibid* 32, 10.
8. YV. 40, 8.

Prepositional Element in the Word Apāmārgá.

By

S. R. SEHGAL, *New Delhi.*

The St. Petersburg *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, derives अपामार्ग- (denoting a medicinal plant) from √मृज् with अप and आ.

The following is an attempt at examining the validity of this view in the light of Vedic tradition[1]. The word occurs in the *Mādhyandina-Saṃhitā* (XXXV, 11). The *Padapāṭha*[2] splits up this compound as अपामार्गेत्यपऽमार्ग. From this division, it is evident that according to ancient textual analysis, the word is to be derived from √मृज् with अप and not from √मृज् with अप and आ. This derivation is supported by the *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya*[3] III, 129, on which the commentator Ananta Bhaṭṭa annotates in the following way :—पिबासोममित्यादि अष्टसप्तति पदानि दीर्घाणि स्युः । Under V, 21, the same scholiast states : एतानि पदानिऽसावग्रहाणि भवन्ति । अपमार्गेत्यप—मार्ग । त्वम् अस्मत् । That this derivation is based on the ancient tradition may be clear from the comment of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* : अपामार्गैरपमृजते । अघमेव तदपमृजते (XIII, 8, 4, 4). The *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, which belongs to the same Vedic school reiterates this view : अपाघमित्यपमार्गैरपमृजते (XXI, 4, 22).

Finally, there is an unimpeachable evidence to show that the *Saṃhitā* literature itself supports this view. The following *Atharvaveda* passages (iv, 18, 7 ; 8 ; vii, 65, 2 ; 3) clearly point to this derivation by the very nature of predication :—

अपामार्गोऽप माष्टुं क्षेत्रियं शपथश्च यः ।
अपाह यातुधानीरप सर्वा अराय्यः[4] ॥
अपमृज्य यातुधानानप सर्वा अराय्यः ।
अपामार्ग त्वया वयं सर्वं तदप मृज्महे[4] ॥
यद् दुष्कृतं यच्छमलं यद् वा चेरिम पापया ।
त्वया तद् विश्वतोमुखापामार्गाप मृज्महे ॥

1. For full text-references cf. V. B. Shastri : *A Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. I, p. 281.

2. *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhita-padapāṭha*, published by Tukaram Tatya, Bombay, 1893.

3. Venkatarama Sarma : *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya*, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 5, 1934.

4. For the corresponding parallel reading cf. *Paippalāda-Saṃhitā*, V, 23, 7 ; 8 ; IX, 8, 22.

श्यावदता कुनखिना बण्डेन यत्सहासिम ।
अपामार्ग त्वया वयं सर्वं तदप मृज्महे ॥

Thus it is evident that the derivation of अपामार्ग from √मृज् with अप and आ followed by some scholars runs counter to the unanimous finding of Vedic tradition on this point. It is interesting to note in this connection that if proper attention had been paid to Pāṇini's general permissive rule (VI, 3, 122) pointing to the important phenomenon of the final vowel of a preposition becoming long when followed by a primary derivative formed with the suffix घञ्, the proper clue to the traditional finding would have been found, obviating the need for importing a second preposition आ into the derivation.

स्पन्द्र–स्यन्द्र–पाठ–विमर्शः[1]

निबन्धा, अमरनाथशास्त्री, होश्यारपुरम्

भारतीया वैदिका विपश्चितो मुक्तकण्ठं दशतयीषु १,१८०,९ ; ५,५२,३ ; ८ ; ८७,३ ; ६, १२,५ ; १०,४२,५ **स्पन्द्र**– इति पाठं समामनन्ति, पाश्चात्याश्च मैक्समुल्लरप्रभृतयो विद्वांसः **स्यन्द्र**– इति । कतरः पाठः श्रेयान् इति विदुषां विधेयो विषयः । यद्यपि सातवलेकरमहानुभावाः पाश्चात्याभिनन्दितं पाठम् अपपाठमवैदिकं च प्रोक्तवन्तः, तथापि न ते विवेचनात्मिकां कामपि सामग्रीम् उपन्यास्थन् । अतो मीमांस्यतेऽयं विषयः ।

अन्यतरपाठावधारणार्थं पूर्वं तावत् तत्तच्छब्दस्य मृग्यं मूलम् । स्पन्द्र–शब्दस्य मूलं √स्पन्द् (पाणिनीये किंचिच् चलने इत्यर्थः) । **स्यन्द्र**–शब्दस्य च मूलं √स्यन्द् (प्रस्रवणे, **स्यदो जवे** पा ६,४,२८ इति सूत्रप्रामाण्येन जवः=शीघ्रगतिर् अप्यर्थः) इति । वैदिके संप्रदाये कतरो धातुः समादृत इत्यत्र प्रयोगबहुला सरणिः शरणम् । यद्यपि मौनियरविलियंसपण्डितेन स्वीये संस्कृताऽऽङ्गल-कोषे '√स्पन्द् *often confounded with* √स्यन्द्'—√स्पन्द् च √स्यन्द् संदिह्येते—इत्येभिरक्षरैः समन्वयार्थं प्रयत्नः कृतः, किंतु तत् समाधानमात्रम् । √स्पन्द् वेदे विरलप्रयोगः । अविरलप्रयोगश्च √स्यन्द् इति । तत्रापि कस्मिन्नर्थे कया विधया किमुपजीव्य कस्य धातोः कियत्सु स्थलेषु कति सन्ति प्रयोगा इति तु निम्ननिर्दिष्टैर्वैदिकोद्धरणैरवदातं भवेत् ।

पूर्वं तावत् √स्यन्द् इत्यस्य वैदिकोद्धरणानि द्रष्टव्यानि :—

१. ऋ. १, ३२,२ : **वाश्रा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः** (वें. स्क. सा. वाशनशीलाः (सा. हम्भारवोपेताः) वत्सान् प्रति (जवेन गच्छन्त्यः) अभिनवप्रसूता गाव इव स्यन्दमानाः (स्क. स्रवन्त्यः, सा. प्रस्रवणयुक्ताः) आपः अञ्जसा समुद्रं प्राप्ताः) ।

२. ऋ. ५, ८३, ८ : **स्यन्दन्तां कुल्या विषिताः पुरस्तात्** (सा. कुल्या नद्यः,विषिता विष्यूताः सत्यः, स्यन्दन्तां प्रवहन्तु, पुरस्तात् पूर्वाभिमुखम् । प्रायेण नद्यः प्राच्यः स्यन्दन्ते) ।

३. ऋ. ९,८०,३ : **क्रीळन्हरिरत्यः स्यन्दते वृषा** (सा. सोमः स्यन्दते रसरूपेण) ।

४. शौ. १२, २, २७ : **अश्मन्वती नदी स्यन्दत इयम्** (अवदातम् । ऋ. १०,५३,८ 'रीयते' इति पाभे.) ।

५. काठ. ४०, १३ : **यत्र धारा मधुमतीस्सदा स्यन्दन्ते अक्षिताः । अपूपकूला नद्यस्सदा स्यन्दन्ते अक्षिताः···उपक्षरन्ति मधुनो घृतस्य कुल्याः···** (सर्वम् अवदातम्) ।

६. पै. १२,७,४ : **वशिनीर्वै नामैता आपो यास् स्यन्दन्ते** । (अवदातम्) ।

७. या. ६,५७ : **मत्स्या मधा उदके स्यन्दन्ते** (मत्स्यानां मत्स्यत्वं मधौ उदके स्यन्दनात् संतरणात्) ।

१. काठ.=काठकसंहिता-, पै.=पैप्पलादसंहिता-, या.=यास्क-, वें.=वेङ्कटमाधव-, शौ.=शौनकसंहिता-, सा.=सायण-. स्क.=स्कन्दस्वामिन्- ।

८. या. ९, २५ : **सिन्धुः स्यन्दनात्** (सिन्धुः=नदी स्यन्दनात्) ।

९. या. १०,५ : **यः सिन्धूनामुपोदये** (ऋ. ८,४१,२) = यः स्यन्दमानानाम् आसाम् (अपाम्) उपोदये) ।

√स्यन्द् इत्येनेन संबद्धानां वैदिकोदाहरणानां तद्व्याख्यानस्य चेदं दिग्दर्शनम् । एतावताऽयं स्वरसः —√स्यन्द् प्रायेण अप्-, नदी-, कुल्या-, धारा-, सोमरस-, सिन्धु-प्रभृतीनां प्रस्रवणशीलानां सहचरितो वेदे प्रयुज्यते । यास्केन (९,२५) स्यन्दनादेव सिन्धुर्व्युत्पादितः । मत्स्यशब्दं निर्ब्रुवता तेनैव (६,२७) उदके स्यन्दनात्=संतरणात् इत्यर्थ उद्भावितः । एतावताऽयं निष्कर्षः सुलभो यद् वैदिक आम्नाये √स्यन्द् प्रस्रवणे संतरणे चाऽवधार्यत इति ।

अथ √स्पन्द् अपि मीमांसितव्यः । तदर्थावधारणायाऽपि वैदिकमेवोद्धरणं समर्प्यते । यथा—

१. ऋ. ४,३,१० : **अस्पन्दमानोऽचरद् वयोधाः** (सा. अग्निः अस्पन्दमानः = एकत्राऽवस्थित एव तेजसा चरति वयोधाः अन्नदः) ।

२. शौ. ८,६,१७ : **स्थालीं गौरिव स्पन्दना** (सा. स्थालीं दोहनसाधनं मृत्पात्रं, गौरिव दुष्टा गौर्यथा,स्पन्दनात्=पश्चात् पादयोश्चालनात् । सा यथा पात्रं भिनत्ति तद्वत् । ह्विट्नेप्रभृतयः पाश्चात्त्या अपि च तथैव—*as a kicking cow a pot* इति) ।

३. ऋ. ३,५३,१९ : **ओजो धेहि स्पन्दने शिंशपायाम्** (सा. शिंशपावृक्षनिर्मिते चक्रे, स्पन्दने= रथस्य गमने सति, ओजो धेहि । वस्तुतः अत्र भाष्ये सायणः विप्रतिपन्न इव, खदिर-शिंशपादिसाहचर्येण स्पन्दनशब्दस्याऽप्यत्र वृक्षविशेषवाचकत्वात् । पश्यन्तु-'पलाशादिभ्यो वा' [पा ४,३,१४] इत्यत्र सूत्रे पलाशादिगणम्) ।

प्रदर्शितानां वैदिकानामुद्धरणानां सुनिपुणं निरूपणेनाऽयमर्थोऽञ्जसा निर्गच्छति--√स्पन्द् इत्यस्य किंचिच्चलनं=प्रकम्पनमर्थः (यथा '**अस्पन्दमानः**'), गवाश्वादिपशुपादप्रक्षेपणं चाऽर्थः (यथा '**स्पन्दना**' । अत्र गोर्विशेषणतया कर्तरि युच् प्र. द्रष्टव्यः) ।

यद्यपि शौ. उद्धरणेऽनेकेषां मूलकोशानां मध्ये '**स्यन्दना**' इत्यन्यतमो मूलकोशो ह्विट्नेमहानुभावैः स्वीयेऽथर्ववेदव्याख्याने प्रदर्शितः परमर्थतो नासावभिनन्दितः, '**स्पन्दना**' इत्यस्यैवाऽर्थः कृतः । एतावता सिद्धमेतद् यद् अथर्ववेदे सर्वैरभिनन्दितः पाठः '**स्पन्दना**' इत्येवाऽस्ति । √स्पन्द् चाऽत्र पादोच्चालनपूर्वके गमने विक्रमणाऽपरपर्यायेऽनुसंधीयत इति ।

संप्रति सम्यगिदमवधारयितुं पार्यते यद् वैदिके समाम्नाये √स्यन्द् इत्यस्य प्रस्रवणं तरणं वाऽर्थः । √स्पन्द् इत्यस्य च प्रकम्पनं पशुपादचालनात्मको विक्रमो वाऽर्थः ।

स्पन्द्र-स्यन्द्र-विचारः

उक्तभूमिकायां संप्रति विभाव्यताम्—अर्थतः वेदे **स्पन्द्र**-शब्दः श्रेयान् आहोस्वित् पाश्चात्त्यैरभिनन्दितः **स्यन्द्र**-शब्दः । यत्र वेदेऽयं शब्दो दृश्यते, तान् अर्धर्चान् मन्त्रखण्डान् वा विचाराय समुपहृतान् पश्यन्तु विद्वांसः यत् तेषु **स्पन्द्र**-शब्दः घटते **स्यन्द्र**-शब्दो वेति । यथा--

१. ऋ. १, १८०, ९ : प्र यद् वहेथे महिना रथस्य प्र स्पन्द्रा याथो मनुषो न होता ।

अश्विनौ प्रकृतौ स्तूयेते । रथस्य महिना महत्त्वेन माहात्म्येनेत्यर्थः । यदा युवां (यज्ञे) प्र वहेथे प्राप्नुथः, स्पन्द्रा स्पन्दनशीलौ प्र याथश्च । यज्ञारम्भे स्पन्दनशीलौ आगच्छथः, यज्ञान्ते च प्रयाथः । मनुषो न होता । नेत्युपमार्थीयः । यथा मनुषो यजमानस्य यजमानविनियुक्त इत्यर्थः, होता ऋत्विग् यज्ञकर्मसंपादनाय प्रतिदिनं प्रगे आगच्छति, यज्ञान्ते प्रयाति चेति अर्धर्चाऽर्थः । (प्रायेणाऽयमर्थः वेङ्कट-माधवीयम् ऋग्भाष्यं सायणव्याख्यानं चाऽनुसरति) ।

अत्राऽर्धर्चे 'स्पन्द्रा' शब्दार्थावधारणाय प्र वहेथे, महिना, रथस्य, प्र···याथः इति तुर्यमपि सावधा-नमनुसन्धेयम् । सायणेन 'प्रवहेथे' इति क्रियापदस्य 'धारयथो यज्ञम्' इत्यर्थः कृतः । पक्षान्तरे 'यागस्य धुरं वहथः' इत्यर्थः कृतः । किं तु द्वयेनाप्येतेन सायणस्य व्याख्यानेन प्र···याथः इति क्रियाया न किमपि सामञ्जस्यम् । प्रयाणम् आगमनपूर्वकं सिध्यति । सायणेनाऽपि 'प्रवहेथे' इत्यस्य 'प्राप्नुथः' इत्यर्थे कृत एव, तत् सिध्यति । अत एवाऽऽचार्यो वेङ्कटमाधवः प्रवहेथे प्राप्नुथः इत्येवम् अर्थापयामास । एतावता-ऽयं निष्कर्षः—अश्विनोर्यज्ञे प्रापणं ततः प्रयाणं च रथस्य महिना महत्त्वेन प्रजायते, अत एव अश्विनोर्विशेषणं 'स्पन्द्रा' इति ।

अत्रेदमवधार्यम्-रथस्य महित्वं किं नाम । नाऽत्र रथनिष्पादककाष्ठभारस्य माहात्म्यं व्याचि-ख्यासितम् । तन्महत्त्वेन सद्यो याने प्रयाणे च न किमपि वैचित्र्यम् । यदि स्यन्दमानया गत्या रथस्य महित्वं, रथः स्वयम् अचेतनो न स्यन्दितुमलम् । अतोऽन्यथानुपपत्त्या प्रकृते 'रथस्य' इत्यनेन ऋक्शब्देन रथवोढुर् अश्वस्याऽर्थत उपचारः कर्तव्यो भवति । अवधीरितवायुवेगस्य रथवाहिनोऽश्वस्य महित्वेन माहात्म्येन स्पन्द्रा अश्विनौ युवां यज्ञप्रदेशं त्वरितमागच्छथः, त्वरितं प्रयाथश्चेत्यनुगतोऽर्थः । एतावता सम्यगिदमवधारयितुं पार्यते यद् ऋगर्थसमन्वयार्थं 'स्पन्द्रा' इत्यनेन रथोपचरिताऽश्वगते-र्नेदीयान् संबन्धः । अश्वगत्यैव 'स्पन्द्रा' इति शब्दस्य वस्तुतो निष्पत्तिः । यदि नामाऽश्वगतिः स्यन्दनपूर्विका भवति तदा 'स्यन्द्रा' इति शब्दः साधीयान् । यदि स्पन्दनाऽपरपर्याय-विक्रमणपूर्विका भवति, तदा 'स्पन्द्रा' इति प्रयोगः साधुः ।

अश्वस्य गतिं प्रमापयन्त आचार्याः—'आस्कन्दितं धौरितकं रेचितं वल्गितं प्लुतम् । गतयोऽमूः पञ्च धाराः' (अमरकोषः) इत्युक्तदिशा पञ्चधा कथयन्ति—आस्कन्दितम्=उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गमनं कोपादेवाखिलैः पदैः, धौरितकम्=शिखिगतिवत्, रेचितम्=मध्यवेगेन या गतिः, वल्गितम्= अग्रकायसमुल्लासात् कुञ्चितास्यं नतत्रिकम्, प्लुतम्=लङ्घनम् इत्येवं गतयोऽमूः पञ्च धाराः (अश्वस्येति शेषः) । अश्व इमा एव पञ्च गतीः प्रचलति, नाऽन्याः । विभावयन्तु विद्वांसः अश्वस्य गतिः स्पन्दनं= विक्रमणमपेक्षते, उत वा स्यन्दनं=प्रस्रवणम् । अश्वस्य प्लुतगतिमेव केचिद् अर्थवादेन स्यन्दनं कथयन्तु; अन्यदेतत् । वस्तुतोऽश्वगतिर्न स्यन्दनम् । अतोऽस्याम् ऋचि तु भारतीयवैदिकैर् अभिनन्दितः 'स्पन्दना' इत्ययमेव पाठः श्रेयान्, न पाश्चात्त्यैर् अनुसंहितः 'स्यन्दना' इति । पाश्चात्त्यविदुषां 'स्यन्दना' इति पाठं मत्वा 'शीघ्रगामिनौ' इत्यर्थो न शब्दार्थः, भावार्थकथनमेतदिति ।

२. ऋ. ५. ५२, ३ : ते स्पन्द्रासो नोक्षणोऽति स्कन्दन्ति शर्वरीः (सा. ते मरुतः स्पन्द्रासः स्पन्दनशीलाः, उक्षणो जलसेक्तारश्च । नेति चार्थे । यस्मात् स्पन्द्रा अन्येषां तस्मात् शर्वरीः, शर्वर्यो रात्र्यः कालावयवानित्यर्थः, तान् अतिस्कन्दन्ति अतिक्रम्य गच्छन्ति, नित्या इत्यर्थः) ।

वस्तुतो नात्र सायणाभिमतोऽर्थः संघटते—न इति चाऽर्थ इति । अपि तु 'न' इत्युपमार्थीयः । तथा चाऽयमर्थः प्रतिभाति—ते मरुतः उक्षणो वृषभा इव स्पन्द्रासः स्पन्दनशीलाः=भूमिकम्पनशीलाः । यथा उक्षाणो वृषभाः पादविक्षेपपूर्वकेण विक्रमेण सोत्खातं भूमिं कम्पयन्ति तथा मरुतोऽप्यतिद्रुतवेगया गत्या सक्षुपद्रुमां भूमिं वेपयन्तीति भावः । शर्वरीः रात्र्युपलक्षितं कालम् अतिस्कन्दन्ति अतिक्राम्यन्तीति । स्यन्दनमभिमन्यमानेन ग्रिफिथमहोदयेन साकं प्रकृते यद्यपि नो भूयोऽर्थतो वैमत्यं, तच्चाऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते, तथापि अस्मदभिमतं 'न' इत्यस्य उपमार्थीयत्वं तेनाप्यभिनन्दितम् । यथा—*'like steers in rapid motion they advance and overtake the nights'*। ग्रासमन-ह्विट्ने-रोथमहानुभावास्तु शर्वरीः=मरुतां वाहनभूताः पृषतीः मृगीः इत्येवमर्थापयन्तः स्पष्टं मृगगत्युपक्षेपेणाऽत्र मरुतामपि स्पन्दनमेवाऽन्ततः स्वीकुर्वीरन् । सिध्यति तथ्यम् अत्रापि यत् स्पन्द्र-शब्द एव श्रेयान्, न पाश्चात्त्याभिमतः स्यन्द्र-शब्दः । सायणार्थस्वीकारेऽपि 'स्पन्द्रासः' इति मरुतां विशेषणम् । मरुतोऽपि न स्यन्दन्ते, अपि तु तेषां क्षिप्रगत्या द्रुमादीनाम् अतिमात्रस्पन्दनात् तैः साकं स्पन्दत्यर्थस्यैव संबन्धः श्रेयान् ।

३. ऋ. ५, ५२, ८ : उत स्म ते शुभे नरः स्पन्द्रा युजत त्मना (सा. उत स्म अपि च, नरः वृष्टेर्नेतारः, ते मरुतः, शुभे उदकार्थं, प्र युजत प्रायुञ्जत समयोजयन्, त्मना आत्मनैव जगद्रक्षाबुद्ध्यैव, स्पन्द्राः चलनस्वभावाः पृषतीरित्यर्थः) । सायणस्य मतेन प्रकृते 'स्पन्द्राः' इत्यनेन चलनस्वभावाः पृषत्यो मृग्यो गृह्यन्ते । मरुतां वाह्याः पृषत्यो मृग्य इत्याभाणकम् । एवं च सति नरो नेतारः मरुतः शुभे कल्याणाय जगतां, स्ववाहनभूताः स्पन्द्राः चलनस्वभावा मृगीः समयोजयन् इति ऋगर्थः स्पष्टः । पाश्चात्त्यानां मते तु 'स्यन्द्राः' इति मरुतां विशेषणम् । क्षिप्रगामिनो मरुत इति तदर्थः । किं तु ग्रिफिथमहोदयस्तेषाम् *'The heroes, hasting, by themselves have yoked their deer for victory'*='वीराः क्षिप्रकारिणः स्वयमेव स्ववाहनभूता मृगीर्विजयार्थं समयोजयन्' इति व्याख्यानेन स्पष्टं 'स्पन्द्राः' शब्देन 'पृषतीः' जग्राह । एतावता सिध्यति—यत् प्रकृते प्राचामर्वाचामपि च स्पन्द्राः शब्देन पृषतीः मृगीः इत्यर्थोऽभिमतः । मृगाणां गतिरपि विक्रमणपूर्वकत्वात् स्पन्दनविषयतामेव नीयते, न च √स्यन्द् लभतेऽवकाशम् । अत एव शाकुन्तले महाकविः कालिदासो दुष्यन्तशराद् भीतस्याऽऽश्रममृगस्य विक्रमणपूर्विकां स्पन्दनाम् अभिजाताक्षरैश्चित्रयामास—पश्योदग्रप्लुतित्वाद् वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्यां प्रयाति इति । अत्र उदग्रप्लुतित्वात् एतेन वर्णकेन कविः स्पन्दनमेव समर्थयति न स्यन्दनम् । अतोऽस्यामृचि 'स्पन्द्राः' एव पाठो वरीयान् न 'स्यन्द्राः' इति ।

४. ऋ. ५,८७,३: न येषामिरी सधस्थ ईष्ट आँ अग्नयो न स्वविद्युतः । प्र स्यन्द्रासो धुनीनाम् (सा. येषां मरुतां सधस्थे निवासे तिष्ठताम् इरी ईरिता प्रेरिता न ईष्टे आ न ईष्टे च चालयितुम् । आ इति चाऽर्थे । अग्नय इव स्वयमेव विद्योतमानाः, धुनीनां नदीनां स्पन्द्रासः वर्षणेन चालयितारश्च) । मरुताम् एष स्तवः । न हि मरुतां कश्चिदपि इरी विचालयिता शत्रुः ईष्टे । यतः ते अग्नय इव स्वविद्युतः स्वप्रकाशाः सन्ति । धुनीनां नदीनां च प्र प्रकर्षेण स्यन्द्रासः स्यन्दयितारः प्रवाहयितार इति ऋगर्थः । धुनीसंनियोगेन प्रकृते 'स्यन्द्रासः=स्यन्दयितारः' इत्येवाऽर्थः श्रेयान् । नाऽत्र √स्पन्द् इत्यस्य कश्चिदप्यर्थः ।

प्रस्रवत्सलिलप्रवाहा धुनयः स्यन्दन्ते, स्यन्द्राः स्यन्दननिपुणा मरुतस्ताः स्यन्दयन्ति, इति पाश्चात्त्यैरभिनन्दितः 'स्यन्द्रासः' इति पाठ एवाऽभिमतः प्रतीयते, न सायणाऽभिमतं नदीनां चालनमात्रम् । अत एव ग्रिफिथमहोदयः—'*who urge the roaring rivers*' इति व्याख्यानेनाऽस्मदभिमतमेव समर्थयति । अथवा सायणस्याऽपि चालनेन धुनीनां स्यन्दनमेवाऽभिप्रेतम् ।

५. ऋ. ६,१२,५ : **सद्यो यः स्यन्द्रो विषितो धवीयान् ऋणो न तायुरति धन्वा राट्** (सा. यः अग्निः, स्पन्द्रः स्पन्दनवान्, विषितः विमुक्तः प्रतिबन्धरहितः, अत एव सद्यः शीघ्रं धवीयान् गन्तृतमो भवति । ···क इव ?, ऋणो न तायुः···यथा स्तेनः शीघ्रं गन्ता भवति, तद्वत् सोऽयम् अग्निः धन्व मरुभूमिमतिक्रम्य राट् राजते) ।

अत्र '**स्यन्द्रः, विषितः, धवीयान्**' इति त्रीण्यग्नेरेव विशेषणानि । तत्र अग्नेः सायणाभिमतं स्पन्दनं विरुद्धम् । कामं दीपशिखायाः स्पन्दनं प्रसिद्धम् । अग्नेस्तु ज्वलनं प्रसिद्धम् । अत एव श्रुत्या '**अति धन्वा राट्**' इत्येभिरक्षरैर् अतिराजनं=ज्वलनमेव समर्थ्यते । यदि सामान्यतः '**स्यन्द्रः**' इत्यस्य पाश्चात्त्याभिमतः **स्यन्द्रः**=आशुगामित्वस्वभाव इत्यर्थो गृह्यते '**धवीयान्**' इत्यनेन विरोधः । सायणस्य संगतिः—'सद्यः शीघ्रं धवीयान् गन्तृतम इति' उभयोः समानार्थकत्वेन श्रुतौ पौनरुक्त्यप्रसङ्गात् । पुनः कः समाधिः ? अत्र शब्दो वस्तुतः '**स्यन्द्रः**' इत्येव । स च लुप्तोपमार्थीयः । प्रस्रवज्जलाऽऽप्लाव इवेति तदाशयः । ग्रिफिथमहोदयोऽपि '*like a rushing flood*' इति व्याख्यानेनाऽस्मदभिमतमेव द्रढयति । एतावता एष ऋगर्थः स्फीतो भवति 'यथा जलाप्लावः विषितः विमुक्तः प्रतिबन्धरहितः, धवीयान् निम्नप्रदेशेषु शीघ्रं गन्ता भवति, तथाऽग्निरपि क्षुपतृणादिप्रकीर्णे वन्ये स्थले निर्बाधं प्रसरति । शुष्कतृण-पल्लवादिषु निर्बाधं प्रसरणमेवाऽग्नेः स्यन्द्रत्वम् । ऋचि तायुः = तस्करः उपमानम् । तस्करोऽपि बन्धन-विमुक्तो निर्जनेषु वनेषु याथाकामी धावति, अग्निरपि तस्कर इव धन्वा धन्वदेशं धवीयान् स्यन्द्रः सन् अतिराजते । अनेनाऽयं निष्कर्षो निस्सरति यद् अत्र '**स्यन्द्रः**' इति पाश्चात्त्याभिमत एव श्रेयान् इति ।

६. ऋ. १०,४२,५ : **धनं न स्यन्द्रं बहुलं यो अस्मै तीव्रान्त्सोमाँ आसुनोति प्रयस्वान्** (सा. प्रयस्वान् हविष्मान्, यः यजमानः, स्पन्द्रं स्पन्दनशीलं गवाश्वादिकं, बहुलं प्रभूतं धनं, न । यथा दरिद्राय पात्रभूताय दातुं संस्करोति, तद्वत्, अस्मै इन्द्राय, तीव्रान् तीव्ररसान्, सोमान् आ सुनोति अभिषुनोति) ।

अत्र '**सोमान्**' इत्युपमेयम्, '**तीव्रान्**' इति तस्य विशेषणम् । एवम् '**धनम्**' इत्युपमानम्, '**स्यन्द्रम्**' तस्य विशेषणम् । '**न**' इति सामान्यवचनम् । यथाऽभिषूयमाणानां सोमानाम् इन्द्रप्रीतये तीव्रत्वम् अपेक्ष्यते, तथा दातुर्धनमपि स्यन्द्रं स्यन्दनशीलं प्रस्रवद्-वारिप्रवाह इव दरिद्राणां कृते दातुर्हस्तात् स्वत एव स्खलनस्वभावम् अपेक्षितं भवति । तदानीमेव धर्मसामान्यात् सिध्यत्युपमालंकारः । सायणा-ऽभिमतेन 'स्पन्दनशीलं गवाश्वादिकम्' इत्यर्थेनाऽत्र न सिध्यत्यर्थः । अतः समानश्रुतिकेऽथर्ववेदेऽपि (२०,८९,५) '**स्यन्द्रम्**' इत्येव पाठोऽधिगन्तव्यः, न तु मुद्रितः '**स्पन्द्रम्**' इति पकारविशिष्टः पाठः ।

अनेन विचारेण निर्गलितं भवति यत् ऋ. १,१८०,९ ; ५,५२,३ ; ८ इति त्रिषु स्थलेषु तु भारतीयैर्वेदविद्भिरभिनन्दितः '**स्पन्द्र-**' इति पाठः श्रेयान् । अन्यत्र ऋ. ५,८७,३ ; ६,१२,५ ; १०, ४२,५ एतेषु त्रिषु स्थलेषु पाश्चात्त्याऽभिमतः '**स्यन्द्र-**' इति च पाठः श्रेयान् इति ।

Index to the Myth-heads of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.

By

VIJAYACHANDRA SHASTRI, *Hoshiarpur.*

1. Aditi and her progeny : **6**, 5, 6, 1-2.
2. Age, old, cast off by serpents : **1**, 5, 4, 1.
3. Agni and his seed : **5**, 5, 4, 1.
4. Agni and his three elder brothers : **6**, 2, 8, 4-6.
5. Agni and Soma, their release : **2**, 5, 2, 1-6.
6. Agni and the gods : **6**, 3, 10, 5-6.
7. Agni restores their cattle to the gods : **1**, 5, 9, 2-3.
8. Aṅgirasas and the S'ara grass : **6**, 1, 3, 3.
9. Animals, Rudra lords over them : **6**, 2, 3, 1-2.
10. As'vins joined the Sacrifice-head : **6**, 4, 9, 1.
11. Ādityas and Rudra : **6**, 5, 6, 3.
12. Black-antelope-horn and Indra : **6**, 1, 3, 6-7.
13. Brothers, three elder, of Agni : **6**, 2, 8, 4-6.
14. Cattle of the gods, restored to them by Agni : **1**, 5, 9, 2-3.
15. Creation of Ghṛtapadī : **2**, 6, 7, 1.
16. Creation of the Universe : **3**, 1, 1, 1.
17. Devabhāga and Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya : **6**, 6, 2, 2-3.
18. Earth and Prajāpati : **5**, 6, 4, 2-4.
19. Gāyatrī protects the gods : **2**, 6, 1, 3-5.
20. Gāyatrī's head cut by Vaṣaṭkāra : **2**, 1, 7, 1.
21. Ghṛtapadī created : **2**, 6, 7, 1.
22. Gods and Agni : **6**, 3, 10, 5-6.
23. Gods and the northern Altar : **6**, 2, 7, 1-4.
24. Gods and the Sacrificial post : **6**, 3, 4, 7.
25. Gods and S'aṃyu-Bṛhaspati : **2**, 6, 10, 1-2.
26. Gods, Ṛc and Sāman : **6**, 1, 3, 1.
27. Gods take oath : **6**, 2, 2, 1-2.
28. Gods, their cattle restored by Agni : **1**, 5, 9, 2-3.
29. Gods, their protection by Gāyatrī : **2**, 6, 1, 3-5.
30. Head of Gāyatrī, cut by Vaṣaṭkāra : **2**, 1, 7, 1.
31. Heaven, Soma's descent from : **6**, 1, 6, 1-6.
32. Indra and the Black-antelope-horn : **6**, 1, 3, 6-7.

33. Indra and the Marut-cups : **6**, 5, 5, 2.
34. Indra and Salāvṛkī : **6**, 2, 4, 4.
35. Indra and the S'ara grass : **6**, 1, 3, 5.
36. Indra and Vis'varūpa : **2**, 5, 1, 1-5.
37. Indra and Vṛtra : **2**, 4, 12, 1-7 ; **5**, 2, 6, 2 ; **6**, 5, 1, 1-2 :
38. Indra, Varāha and the Sacrifice : **6**, 2, 4, 2-3.
39. Manu and Nābhānediṣṭha : **3**, 1, 9, 4-5.
40. Marka and S'aṇḍa : **6**, 4, 10, 1.
41. Marut-cups and Indra : **6**, 5, 5. 2.
42. Nābhānediṣṭha and Manu : **3**, 1, 9, 4-5.
43. Northern Altar and the gods : **6**, 2, 7, 1-4.
44. Oath taken by gods : **6**, 2, 2, 1-2.
45. Origin of Prakṣa tree : **6**, 3, 10, 2.
46. Origin of Silver : **1**, 5, 1, 1-2.
47. Penance of Prajāpati : **7**, 1, 5, 1-4.
48. Prajāpati and his penance : **7**, 1, 5, 1-4.
49. Prajāpati and the Earth : **5**, 6, 4, 2-4.
50. Prajāpati and the Universe : **5**, 7, 5, 3-7.
51. Prajāpati and Ukhya : **5**, 5, 2, 5-7.
52. Prajāpati creates the World : **2**, 1, 1, 4; **5**, 5, 2, 1.
53. Prakṣa tree, its origin : **6**, 3, 10, 2.
54. Progeny of Aditi : **6**, 5, 6, 1-2.
55. Ṛc and Sāman and the gods : **6**, 1, 3, 1.
56. Release of Agni and Soma : **2**, 5, 2, 1-6.
57. Rudra and Ādityas : **6**, 5, 6, 3.
58. Rudra lords over the animals : **6**, 2, 3, 1-2.
59. Sacrifice-head joined by As'vins : 6, 4, 9, 1.
60. Sacrifice, Indra and the Varāha : **6**, 2, 4, 2-3.
61. Sacrificial post and the gods : **6**, 3, 4, 7.
62. Salāvṛkī and Indra : **6**, 2, 4, 4.
63. S'aṃyu-Bṛhaspati and gods : **2**, 6, 10, 1-2.
64. S'aṇḍa and Marka : **6**, 4, 10, 1.
65. S'ara grass and the Aṅgirasas : **6**, 1, 3, 3.
66. S'ara grass and Indra : **6**, 1, 3, 5.
67. Sāman and Ṛc gods : **6**, 1, 3, 1.
68. Seed of Agni : **5**, 5, 4, 1.
69. Serpents cast off their old age : **1**, 5, 4, 1.

70. Silver, its origin : **1**, 5, 1, 1-2.
71. Soma, Agni and their release : **2**, 5, 2, 1-6.
72. Soma and his wives : **2**, 5, 6, 4-5.
73. Soma's descent from Heaven : 6, 1, 6, 1-6.
74. Ukhya and Prajāpati : **5**, 5, 2, 5-7.
75. Universe, its creation : **3**, 1, 1, 1.
76. Universe and Prajāpati : **5**, 7, 5, 3-7.
77. Varāha, Indra and the Sacrifice : **6**, 2, 4, 2-3 ;
78. Vaṣaṭkāra cuts Gāyatrī's head : **2**, 1, 7, 1.
79. Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya and Devabhāga : **6**, 6, 2, 2-3.
80. Viṣṇu conquers the Worlds : **2**, 1, 3, 1.
81. Vis'varūpa and Indra : **2**, 5, 1, 1-5.
82. Vṛtra and Indra : **2**, 4, 12, 1-7 ; **5**, 2, 6, 2 ; **6**, 5, 1, 1-2 :
83. Wives of Soma : **2**, 5, 6, 4-5.
84. World, its creation by Prajāpati : **2**, 1, 1, 4 ; **5**, 5, 2, 1.
85. Worlds, their conquest by Viṣṇu : **2**, 1, 3, 1.

reading may be एषा शास्वसती[1].

(13) MS. IV, 14, 4 : 220, 9 reads :-

'सूर्यो रूपं कृणुते द्यौरुपस्थे, द्यौः here may be द्योः[2] and so it is read in RV. i, 115, 5.

(14) RV. IV, 40, 4 reads :—

क्रतुं दधिक्रा अनु संतवीत्वत्[3] पथामङ्कांस्यन्वापनीफणत्। Accent on संतवी° and आपनी° assures that the two are participles. Sāyaṇa rightly explains संत° by प्रवृद्धबलवान् सन् but paraphrases अन्वा° sic आ° by सर्वतो भृशं गच्छति which is wrong[4].

The fact is pādas a, b, c, and d, all combined make one sentence and the only verb in the stanza is तुरण्यति. Yāska : *Nirukta* II, 28 comments :- अनुसंतवीत्वत् तनोतेः पूर्वया प्रकृत्या निगमः। आपनीफणदिति फणतेः चर्करीतवृत्तम्।

He derives तवीत्वत् from the simple original form of √तन् but makes पनीफणत् intensive of √फण्. This is a riddle and Durga, Skanda and other commentators on *Nirukta* have failed to explain it. Now Pāṇini (VII. 3, 95) prescribes the insertion of -ī- in case of √तु before a सार्वधातुक suffix; and it is exactly on this account that Yāska takes the तवीत्वत् form in सार्वधातुक in जुहोत्यादिगण with its usual reduplication (?). In आपनी° he gets from intensive reduplication (for which cf. *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini VII, 4, 65). The reading तनोतेः etc. would, however, suggest that it is from √तन् 'to stretch.' But the root √तन् does not get -ī- in सार्वधातुक and so there would be a contradication between 'तनोतेः' and 'पूर्वया प्रकृत्या'. Surely, Yāska had before him तवीत्वत् and not तनीत्नत्. The difficulty is at once cleared if we read तवीतेः in place of तनोतेः. The change of तवीतेः into तनोतेः is easy; but the mistake is old and uniform in all the manuscripts. It has led almost all the commentators into manifold difficulties.

1. There seems, however, to be no need for any emendation here as the text is clear enough with एषा (sg.) standing for the subj. (भूमिः) and शाश्वसती fem. pres. part. freq. form of √श्वस्. The form is also attested by RV. i, 30, 16 and X, 48, 6. There are difficulties in accepting the suggested emendation as आशाः in the sense of quarters will have to be accented on the first syllable and the change of the original palatal s' to dental s for स्वशती and शास्वसती would be quite arbitrary. —Ed.

2. It may, however, have to be accorded a status in its own right and explained grade-wise as follows :—

(i) *द्याव्— > *द्यावस् (gen.) > *द्या उस् > द्यौस् (MS.),

(ii) द्यव्— > द्यवस् (gen.)> द्यौस्> द्योस् (RV.) —Ed.

3. cf. Grassmann : *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda,* as intensive part., while Sarup : *Woolner Commemoration Vol.* p. 234, misunderstands it as intensive subj. 3rd pr. sg. Sāyaṇa has paraphrased अनु separately by अनुसृत्य. This particle has dropped off from his text and has to be supplied even in its latest Poona edition—Ed.

4. cf. *Kās'ika* on Pāṇini VII, 4, 65 where आपनीफणत् is rightly described as a participle.

A Remarkable Gātha Verse.

By

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, *Bombay.*

The usual idea among Zoroastrian and Iranian scholars is tha the doctrine of reincarnation is nowhere clearly mentioned in Zoro astrian Scriptures. There is clear mention of this doctrine, however, i the *Desātīr*, a later work in queer type of Persian. This work thoug regarded by some sections of Zoroastrians as authentic, has been regarde by most scholars as a forged document. At any rate, we are told th none of the Zoroastrian scriptural books either in the Avesta langua or in the Pahlavi makes any clear mention of this doctrine.

Of course, we may conclude, by implication, that Zoroastrianis might have taught reincarnation. The great law of *karma* 'as you sov so shall you surely reap' is clearly enunciated in the Gāthās. It even mentioned how evil people though successful in the beginning g frustrated in the end and that then they turn to the path of righ So, by indirect inference we may say that reincarnation is not impossib in the teaching of Zarathushtra. But as there is no positive mention it we can say at best that it is 'not proven'.

Such was my own opinion for many years until I carefully studi the text of the Gāthās themselves, which are universally acknowledg to be the teaching of the prophet himself. I found in them ve clear enunciation of the law of *karma*, but reincarnation as suc was not to be found in the first two gāthās.

The late Mr. Sohrab J. Balsara, one of the finest of our Pa scholars, however, held that the word zazĕnte in the first Gāt (Yasna 30. 10) was the intensive of √zan 'to be born' and he thought that this was the clearest indication that reincarnati was taught by Zarathushtra. But I do not agree with this vie The word is an intensive, but of √za (Skt. √hā) and means 'stri constantly'; so we cannot say it is a direct mention.

But in the third gāthā (Spĕnta-Mainyū), we have a remarkal verse which to my mind clearly sets forth the doctrine of *rebi* This is Yasna 49. 11; and many years ago a friend of mine h written about it in a Parsi magazine. But as his translation had so obvious grammatical errors, I merely suspended my judgement until reached the verse in the course of my studies.

Having studied the verse carefully now, I have come to t conclusion that my friend was correct in his premise. His erroneo

construction does not alter the conclusion that this verse does mention the return of the souls in clear words.

I give below the original verse and the translation word for word. It is in the *triṣṭubh* metre:

at[1] dush[2]-khshathrĕng[3] dush[4]-shyaothnēng[5] dush[6]-vacanho[7],
dush[8]-daēnŏng[9] dush-mananhō[11] drĕgvatō[12];
akāish[13] khvarĕthaish[14] paitē[15] Urvānō[16] (paitī)[17] yeinti[18],
Drujō[19] Dĕmānē[20] haithyā[21] anhĕn[22] astayō[23].

'*But*[1] *among evil*[2]*- rulers*[3], *evil*[4]*- doers*[5] (*and*) *evil*[6]*- speakers*[7],
among evil-[8] *Egos,*[9] *evil*[10] *thinkers*[11] (*and*) *followers-of-Untruth*[12];
souls[16] *do come*[18] *again*[15] *on account of* (*their*) *dim*[13] *insight*[14],
in (*this*) *Abode*[20] *of Untruth*[19] *these*[22] *in fact*[21] *the dwellers.*[23].

The five compounds beginning with *dush* are all in the accusative and are plural. The accusative is due to the verb of motion, *paitī*... *yeintī* (Skt. *prati*, *yanti*).

Drĕgvatō is also accusative plural. The word means 'the followers of *Druj* 'Untruth'.

The third line is metrically more than eleven syllables[1], and so the second *paitī* (the repeated *upasarga*) should be omitted.

akāish khvarĕthāish: both the words are instrumental plural, the adjective *aka* means 'bad', here 'ineffective'. The word *khvarĕtha* (nature) has been usually translated as 'food'. The word occurs in the Gāthā in two other places Yasna 34. 11 and 48.5, and in Yasna 31.20 and 53.6 we get the compound *dush-khvarĕtha*. Bartholomae has everywhere translated this word as 'food' and in the last mentioned two passages he translates 'bad food' which seems a closer parallel to the verse we are considering. This translation of the word by 'food' can ultimately be traced back to the Pahlavi rendering. In Pahavi there is the verb *khvartan* (Persian *khurdan*) 'to eat', whence this misunderstanding of the Avesta word. Horn has pointed out (Grundriss der neupersischen Etyomologies 507) that the Persian word means also 'to drink' and so he thinks it may be connected with the word *hurā* (Skt *sūrā*) 'wine' which in its turn may be traced back to √*hu* (Skt. √*su*) 'to distil, to press out'. From this I conclude that the Avesta word *khvarĕtha* has no connection with the Pahlavi word *khvartan* 'to eat'. This is all the more probable when we remember that we have not got in Skt. any word meaning 'to eat' or 'to drink' which

1. In considering Avesta metre, a safe rule is to put the words in their Skt. forms and then count the syllables. This is due to the extra vowels so often inserted in Avesta words.

may be equated phonetically. The Gāthā word can be traced back to √*khavar* (√*hvar*) which is Skt. √*svar* 'to shine'. Geldner has mentioned (Drei Yasht, p. 2, footnote 3) the Skt. *sūrta* from RV. X, 82, 4 and the negative *asūrta* (RV.X. 82.4 and AV.X. 3.9), which mean 'light' and 'darkness' respectively. And our words *svar* (heaven), *sūrya* (the sun) etc. can ultimately be traced to this root. So, I would translate the Avesta *khvarĕtha* as 'light'. Here the 'light' is the inner light of spirituality. The 'bad light', implies the dim light of the inner spirit. We might compare the 'darkness visible' in Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

paitī ... yemtē : upon the rendering of this verb rests the whole meaning of the verse. Bartholomae has translated 'go forth to meet', which he explains further by adding that 'the souls of those liers who have died earlier and have preceded the others to hell go forth with foul food to welcome these later arrivals'. In this he has followed more or less faithfully the Pahlavi version. We must never forget that the Pahlavi version of the Gāthās is separated from the original by at least twelve centuries, probably many more, and so it is as unreliable for the interpretation of the Gāthās as Sāyaṇa is for that of the Vedic verses.

Moreover, in Yasna 34.6 and 50.9 we get the same *paitī*√i again and there Bartholomae himself has translated 'come back.' In Veda too, the verb means 'to come back'.

The 'Abode of Untruth', is our word as contrasted with the Higher World where Truth dwells. We mortals guided only by the 'dim light' of our own souls have to come back to this 'Abode of Untruth' and live among all sorts of evil persons until the light of Truth is perceived.

Five Similes in the Ṛgveda.

By
A. VENKATASUBBIAH, *Mysore.*

The उपमा is the most frequently used figure of speech in the Ṛgveda as in classical Sanskrit literature. As in the latter, the उपमा employed in many passages belongs to the type known as धर्मलुप्तोपमा[1] (उपमा in which the word expressing the सामान्यधर्म is lacking), while in some passages, it is combined with श्लेष. The RV. passages containing such similes have not always been rightly understood by the exegetists; and the interpretations proposed by them in respect of not only such passages but of others also in which the word expressing the सामान्यधर्म is not lacking, are oftentimes wide of the mark, as is shown by the following instances :—

(1) II, 2, 2 : अभि त्वा नक्तीर् उषसो ववाशिरेऽग्ने वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनवः ।
दिव इवेदरतिर् मानुषा युगा क्षपो भासि पुरुवार संयतः ॥

This verse, which is addressed to Agni, was 'seen' by Gṛtsamada. It is explained by Sāyaṇa as follows :—

हे अग्ने त्वा त्वाम् अभि प्रति नक्तीः रात्रीः उषसः अहानि सर्वासु रात्रिषु सर्वेष्वप्यहःसु । यद्वा नक्त-शब्दः सायंकालं लक्षयति सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रस्य सद्भावात् । सर्वेषु कालेषु सायंप्रातःकालेषु वा ववाशिरे आकांक्षन्ते यजमाना यष्टुम् । यद्वा अहानि रात्रयश्च त्वामेव कामयन्ते होतुम् । काले कर्मणश्चोदनात् कालानां कामनमुपचर्यते ।। तत्र दृष्टान्त.— स्वसरेषु स्वयंसरणशीलेष्वहःसु सुखसरणाधिकरणेषु गोष्ठेषु वा धेनवो वत्सं न । वत्समिव । किञ्च हे पुरुवार, बहुभिर्वरणीयाग्ने संयतो नियतस्त्वं दिव इव द्युलोकस्येव अरतिः व्याप्तो विस्तृतः । तत्रत्यानां देवानां हविःप्रदानायैव सर्वत्र व्याप्त इत्यर्थः । मानुषा मानुषाणां यजमानानां संबन्धीनि युगा युगानि । युगशब्दः कालोपलक्षकः प्रातरादिसवनानि । सर्वेषु सवनेषु अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । क्षपः रात्रीः सर्वासु रात्रिष्वपि आभासि समन्ताद् दीप्यसे ।

Ludwig translates (I, 321 ; no. 295) the verse as : 'At night, and in the morning, they have cried loudly towards thee, 0 Agni, as the milch-cows, in the sheds, towards the calf. As the messenger of Heaven, thou sheddest light likewise through all nights on the generations of men, thou that possessest many excellent things', and, in his commentary (IV, 28, 7) cites with approval Sāyaṇa's explanation आकांक्षन्ते यजमानाः. Similarly, Geldner (RV. *Uber.*) translates the verse as : 'Towards thee, 0 Agni, have they cried (all) nights and days, as milich-cows towards the calf after grazing in the early morning. Like the guide of heaven, i. e., the sun (in the day) throughout man's life, thou shinest in all the night successively, thou (that fulfillest) the wishes of many' ; and in his explanatory note, he writes that the word 'they' refers to hymns of praise, as indicated by IX, 94, 2, and that, alternatively, one can, bearing II, 4, 3 in mind, regard नक्तीरुषसः as forming the subject of ववाशिरे.

1. cf. chap. उपमालङ्कार n *Kuvalayānanda.*

Grassmann translates the verse as: 'The Nights and Mornings have cried loudly towards thee, O Agni, as cows in their sheds cry towards the calf. Thou, the servant of Heaven, shinest on races of men for continuous series of nights, thou rich in gifts'. Similarly, Oldenberg explains it as, 'For thee, Nights and Dawns have been lowing, O Agni, as milch-cows in their folds for their calf. A steward, as it were, of Heaven, thou shinest on the human tribes, O bountiful one, on continuous nights' in SBE. 46, p. 193 and observes in his RV. *Noten* (I, 189) that the meaning of the sentence अभि त्वा नक्तीरुषसो ववाशिरे is, 'the Nights and Dawns have roared towards thee' and not 'they have cried loudly towards thee at nights and at dawns'. This is the opinion of Bloomfield (RV. *Rep.*, p. 162) and of Bergaigne (2, 15) also.

The explanations given above fall under two groups : (1) those in which the words नक्तीरुषसः are regarded as being in the nominative case, forming the subject of ववाशिरे and having e.g. धेनवः as उपमान and (2) those in which they are regarded as accusative forms, and some other word or words are supplied or understood as the subject of ववाशिरे in the उपमेयवाक्य. To the former group belong the explanations of Grassman and Oldenberg and the second explanation of Sāyaṇa and to the latter, those of Ludwig and Geldner and the first explanation of Sāyaṇa[1]. Both groups of explanations are based on the belief that the words वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनवः constitute the उपमान, i.e., that the word धेनवः forms part of the उपमान and cannot be the subject of ववाशिरे in the उपमेयवाक्य. This belief is erroneous ; the word धेनु signifies not only 'milch-cow', but, as recognised by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* (1, 11) 'hymn of praise (vāc)' also ; and it has been employed by the ṛṣi in both these senses in this verse. In other words, the उपमा is combined here with श्लेष, and the construction of the first half-verse is, हे अग्ने स्वसरेषु वत्सं नक्तीरुषसः त्वामभि धेनवो ववाशिरे. The meaning of the verse therefore is: 'O Agni, the *dhenus* (hymns of praise or milch-cows) have lowed towards thee, at nights and at dawns, as towards the calf at सन्ध्या times. Being bright, thou shinest, at nights as (also) in the days, continuously on generations of men, O thou that hast many desirable things.'

Compare in connection with the first half-verse, II, 24, 2 ; धियः पिन्वानाः स्वसरे न गाव ऋतायन्तीरभि वावश्र इन्दुम्, 'Oozing, (milk ; desirable things) like cows in सन्ध्या times, the holy hymns, have lowed towards Soma'. in which verse too the hymns 'lowing' towards a deity are compared to cows lowing (towards the calf) in सन्ध्या times. While the ṛṣi of this verse (Kaṇva) has made use of two words, धियः and गावः, to express the ideas of 'hymns' and 'cows', the ṛṣi of II, 2, 2 (Gṛtsamada) has resorted to and employed but one word, धेनवः to express the two ideas. Compare also IX, 19, 4: अवावशन्त धीतयो वृषभस्याधि रेतसि । सूनोर्वत्सस्य मातरः ; IX, 66, 11 : अच्छा कोशं मधुश्चुतमसृग्रं वारे अव्यये । अवावशन्त धीतयः; IX, 86, 31: सं धीतयो वावशाना अनूषत शिशुं रिहन्ति मतयः पनिप्नतम् ; and VII, 5, 5 : त्वामग्ने हरितो वावशाना गिरः सचन्ते धुनयो घृताचीः,

1. The explanation given by me in *Vedic Studies I,* 92 belongs to the second group.

in which √वश्र् 'to low' is used in connection with hymns of praise(धीतयः, गिरः) and likewise IX, 97, 35 : सोमं गावो धेनवो वावशानाः सोमं विप्रा मतिभिः पृच्छमानाः ; III, 57, 3 : अच्छा पुत्रं धेनवो वावशाना महश्चरन्ति बिभ्रतं वपूंषि and I, 73, 6: ऋतस्य हि धेनवो वावशानाः स्मदूध्नीः पीपयन्त द्युभक्ताः in which that verb is used in connection with milch-cows (धेनवः).

स्वसर denotes the time in which the cows return home from the pasture after grazing and are milked ; सन्ध्या time (see *Ved. Studies* I, 82 ff). According to the description of Indian poets, the milch-cows not only cry out loudly towards their calves at that time, but ooze milk from their udders and are eager (उत्सुक, सत्वर) to rejoin them. Compare II, 34, 8 :—

धेनुर्न शिश्वे स्वसरेषु पिन्वते जनाय रातहविषे महीमिषम्,

'They ooze copious refreshment for the person who offers oblations to them, as the milch-cow for the calf at सन्ध्या times; VIII, 88, 1 :—

अभि वत्सं न स्वसरेषु धेनव इन्द्रं गीर्भिर्नवामहे,

'We cry towards Indra with our hymns, as milch-cows towards their calf at सन्ध्या times'; *Yādavābhyudaya*, 4, 89 : स नैचिकीः प्रत्यहमातपान्ते प्रत्युक्तघोषा इव वत्सनादैः । मधूनि वंश-ध्वनिभिः प्रयच्छन् निनाय भूयोऽपि निवासभूमिम् ; *S'rīmad-bhāgavata*, X, 13, 23-24 : सायं गतो यामयमेन माधवः । गावस्ततो गोष्ठमुपेत्य सत्वरम् ॥ हुंकारघोषैः परिहूतसंगतान् । स्वकान्स्वकान् वत्सतरानपाययन् । मुहुर्लिहन्त्यः स्रवदौधसं पयः ; *Yaśastilaka-campū*, 2, p. 10 : विमुच्यमानेषु सन्ध्योपासनाञ्जलिमुकुलेषु ··· मुखरीभवत्सु मथ्यमानेष्वर्णवार्णःस्विवाभ्यर्णतर्णकस्वनाकर्णनोदीर्णेन धेनुष्यानां दीर्घरम्भितरवेण गोपुरमुखेषु; *Kirātarjunīya*, 4, 10, and 31 : उपारताः पश्चिमरात्रिगोचराद् अपारयन्तः पतितुं जवेन गाम् । तमुत्सुकाश्चक्रुरवेक्षणोत्सुकं गवां गणाः प्रस्नुतपीवरोधसः ॥ विहारभूमेरभिघोषमुत्सुकाः शरीरजेभ्यश्च्युतयूथपङ्क्तयः । असक्तमूधांसि पयः क्षरन्त्यमूरुपायनानीव नयन्ति धेनवः ; *Raghuvamśa*, 1, 84, and 2, 22 : भुवं कोष्णेन कुण्डोध्नी मेध्येनावभृथादपि । प्रस्रवेणाभिवर्षन्ती वत्सालोकप्रवर्तिना ॥ वत्सोत्सुकापि स्तिमिता सपर्यां प्रत्यग्रहीत्सेति ननन्दतुस्तौ ; *Harṣacarita* (*Nirṇayasāgara* ed. of 1912), p. 80 : दिवसविहृतिप्रत्यागतं स्तनन्धये धयति धेनुवर्गम्, उद्गतक्षीरं क्षुधेत-तर्णकव्राते. Compare also X, 75, 4 : अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशुमिन्न मातरो वाश्रा अर्षन्ति पयसेव धेनवः,

'O Sindhu, they (i. e. the rivers) run to thee, roaring and (overflowing) with water, as lowing milch-cows run to their calf (at सन्ध्या times), as mothers run to their child, with milk (oozing from their udders or breasts)'. पयस् water and also milk ; पयसा is to be construed with (प्रवतः) मातरः[1] and धेनवः also, and वाश्राः with प्रवतः and धेनवः[2]. [1. According to the description of Indian poets, women too ooze milk from the breasts when they think of their children. Compare, for instance, *S'rimadbhāgavata* X, 7, 34 : एकदाऽर्भकमादाय स्वाङ्कमारोप्य भामिनी । प्रस्नुतं पाययामास स्तनं स्नेहपरिप्लुता ; *ibid*. X, 9, 5 : तमङ्कमारूढमपाययत्स्तनं स्नेहस्नुतं सस्मितमीक्षती मुखम् ; *ibid*. X, 11, 14 : क्रीडन्तं सा सुतैर्बालमतिवेलं सहाग्रजम् । यशोदाऽजोहवीत् कृष्णं पुत्रस्नेहस्नुतस्तनी ; *Kādambarī* (Peterson's ed. in BSS), p. 94 : [सा तु] ··· ··· प्रस्नुतपयोधरक्षरत्पयोबिन्दुच्छलेन द्रवीभूय स्नेहाकुलेन निर्गच्छतेव हृदयेन ··· ··· ··· तं सुचिर-

माश्लिष्य ; *ibid.* p. 342 : रयोन्मुक्तजर्जराभिर्नयनजलधाराभि: प्रस्रवेण च सिञ्चन्ती महीतलं… गाढमालिङ्ग्याङ्गानि ; *Harṣacarita*, p. 166 : स्मरन्ती प्रस्नुतस्तनी प्रसवदिवसादारभ्य सकलमङ्कशायिन: शैशवम् ।

2. Were the RV. ṛṣis, perchance acquainted with a word वाश्र formed from √वश् 'to desire' (कान्तौ) by the addition of the suffix र and with lengthening of the radical *a* as in ताम्-र (from √तम्) and वास्-अ-र (from √ वस् 'to shine') ? If so, वाश्रा: should be construed with मातर: also in this verse, and the expression न मातरो वाश्रा: would be equivalent to उशतीरिव मातर: of X, 9, 2. Likewise, वाश्रा would have to be interpreted as 'longing' in other RV. verses also.]

The above-cited two verses (II, 2, 2 and IX, 94, 2) too belong to this category, and the idea of 'eagerness (hurry)' is implicit in the similes employed in them.

The particle of comparison इव in *pāda* c is really equivalent to च 'and', and the expression दिव इव क्षप आ भासि मानुषा युगा signifies 'thou shinest at nights and in days on generations of men'. Compare VI, 3, 6 : नक्तं य ईम् अरुषो यो दिवा नॄन् who shines brightly on men by night and by day' that is likewise addressed to Agni. अरति=bright, brillient; see *Ved. Studies* 1, 104.

(2) I, 71, 1 : उप प्रजिन्वन्नुशतीरुशन्तं पतिं न नित्यं जनय: सनीळा: ।
स्वसार: श्यावीमरुषीमजुषञ्चित्रमुच्छन्तीमुषसं न गाव: ॥

This verse is addressed to Agni. It is explained by Sāyaṇa as : उशतीरुशत्य: कामयमाना: । सनीळा: । नीळो निवासस्थानम् । समाननिवासस्थाना एकपाण्यवस्थानात् । स्वसार: । स्वसार इत्यङ्गुलिनाम । एवंभूता अङ्गुलय: । उशन्तं कामयमानमग्निं जनयो जाया: । नित्यम् असाधारणं पतिं न भर्तारमिव । उपप्रजिन्वन् उप आगत्य हवि:प्रदानादिकर्मणा प्रीणयन्ति । प्रीणयित्वा च चित्रं चायनीयं पूजनीयं तमग्निमञ्जलिबन्धनेनाजुषन् असेवन्त । तत्र दृष्टान्त:—श्यावीं श्याववर्णां रात्रिसम्बन्धात् कृष्णां तत उच्छन्तीं सूर्यकिरणसम्बन्धात्तमो वर्जयन्तीम् । अत एवारुषीम् आरोचमानां यद्वा शुभ्ररूपयुक्ताम् उषसं न । उषोदेवतां गावो रश्मयो यथा सेवन्ते तद्वत् । यथा रश्मय उषसा नित्यसम्बद्धा: एव सर्वेषु यज्ञेषु अग्निपरिचरणेन अङ्गुलयो नित्यसम्बद्धा इति तात्पर्यार्थ: ; by *Venkata-Mādhava* as, उपाचरन् । कामयमाना: कामयमानं पतिमिव असाधारणं जाया: एकपतिका: । अङ्गुलय एकस्मात्पाणरुत्पन्ना: । अञ्जलिकरणात् । श्याववर्णाम् आरोचनशीलाम् अग्नेर्दीप्तिम् । चित्रम् । अजुषन् सेवन्ते चित्रम् उच्छन्तीम् उषसम् इव रश्मय: ; and by *Skandasvāmin* as, उपेत्युपसर्गश्रुतेर्योग्यक्रियाध्याहार: । उपगम्य । प्रजिन्वन् । जिन्वति: प्रीतिकर्मा । प्रीणयन्ति प्रीणितवत्यो वाग्निम् । का: । सामर्थ्यादाहुतय: । कथम् । उशतीरुशन्तं पतिं न नित्यं कौमारं जनयो जाया: सनीळा: समानगृहा: । यथैकगृहवासिन्यो भार्या: परस्परस्पर्धया तैस्तैरुपचारविशेषै: कौमारं भर्तारं कामयमानं प्रीणययुस्तद्वदित्यर्थ: । स्वसार: । लुप्तोपममेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । स्वसार इव । यथा च भगिन्यो भ्रातरं प्रीणयेयु: तद्वदित्यर्थ: । अथवा सनीळा: स्वसार इत्येताभ्यामाहुतय: प्रतिनिर्दिश्यन्ते । समानमग्न्याख्यं स्थानं यासां ता: सनीळा आहुतय: । अग्नेरेवैकस्य योग्या नान्यस्य कस्यचिदित्यर्थ: । ता एवैकयजमानप्रभवत्वात् स्वसार: । स्वयंसारित्वाद्वा । किञ्च अजुषन् चित्रं सेवन्ते । सेवितवत्यो वा विचित्रं पूजनीयं वाग्निम् । कथम् । श्यावीमरुषीमुच्छन्तीमुषसम् । अरुषतिर्गत्यर्थ: । यथा श्याववर्णां गमनस्वभाविकां च तमांसि विवासयन्तीम् उषसं सेवेरन् तद्वत् । का: । अजुषन् । उच्यते

गाव: । स्तुतयोऽत्र गाव उच्यन्ते । गोभिर्यद् ईम् अन्ये अस्मत् RV. VIII, 2,6. इति यथा । यथा आहुतयोऽग्निं प्रीणयन्ति प्रीणितवत्यो वा स्तुतयोऽपि स्तुवन्ति स्तुतवत्यो वेत्यर्थ: ।

Oldenbeg translates the verse as, 'The loving (women) have (amorously) excited their lover, as wives of the same nest (house) their own husband. The sisters have delighted in the dark and in the red (goddess), as the cows in the brightly shining dawn' in SBE. 46, p. 74, and observes (on p. 75 l.c.): 'If the text is correct, the 'sisters' may either be the ten fingers which generate Agni by attrition (cf. III, 29, 13 ; IV, 6, 8), or the streams of water among which Agni grows up, or streams of *ghṛta* or the like (cf. II, 5, 5 ; see below). Why these sisters are said to delight in the dark and in the bright goddess, the Night and the Dawn, is boubtful.' He therefore, puts forth the suggestion (p. 76 l.c.) that the reading श्यावीम् अरुषीम् in c is corrupt and that the original reading was श्यावीर् अरुषी:.

Grassmann's translation (p. 72) is similar to that of Oldenberg. 'The wives of the same nest' are, according to him, the fingers that produce Agni by attrition at the time when night is disappearing before dawn, and the 'cows', the bright-coloured morning clouds or the rays of light that are regarded as the draught-animals of Dawn. Geldner's translation too (RV. *Uber.*) is similar to that of Oldenberg ; he too believes that the reference is to the production of Agni from attrition by the ten fingers in the early morning; but the 'cows' are, according to him, the cows that are driven to the pasture at dawn, and that are, therefore, regarded as the progeny of Dawn. Ludwig translates (I, 293) the verses as, 'The longing ones (fem.) have brought forth the longing one (male), as the united wives the unchanging husband. The sisters have become fond of (the two sisters) the dark one and the red one, as the cows, of the brightly rising Dawn' ; but his explanations (in his commentary, IV, 264) do not throw much light on this translation.

Thus, according to the above-named exegetists, स्वसार: in *pāda* c refers to the ten fingers, and the *pāda* signifies, 'The ten fingers have delighted in Night and in Dawn', a proposition whose import it is difficult to understand.

Bergaigne, on the other hand, observed long ago (II, 68) that 'the sisters, spouses of Agni, who, in the words of I, 71, 1, 'delighted in the dark one and the red one' were prayers. Apparently, the construed जनय: in *pāda* b with स्वसार: in c, a procedure which does not seem to me to be right. For the rest, however, I am disposed to agree with him that स्वसार: refers to hymns of praise. These hymns of praise are, in fact, explicitly mentioned in *pāda* d by the name गाव: (compare *Nighantu* 1, 11, which mentions गो also among the fifty-one synonyms of वाच्) The construction of the verse is, उशती: सनीळा: जनय: उशन्तं नित्यं पतिं न उशती: स्वसार: गाव: उशन्तम् (अग्निम्) उप-प्रजिन्वन् चित्रम् उच्छन्तीम् अरुषीम् उषसम् न श्यावीम् अजुषन् ; and its meaning is: 'As longing wives in the same nest excite (to amorous activity) the dear longing husband, the longing hymns that are sisters excited to activity

the longing Agni; they have taken delight in the dark one as (also) in the gloriously shining brilliant Dawn'.

The hymns of praise are frequently represented by the RV. poets as the spouses of the diety to whom they are addressed, seeking union with them or uniting themselves with them. See in this connection the passages referred to by Bergaigne s. v. *Epouse* in the index at the end of his *Religion Vedique.* See also the observations on p. 8 of his article entitled *Quelques observations sur les figures de rhetorique dans le Ṛgveda.* (Memoires de Societe de Linguistique Tome IV, fascicule 2, pp. 1 ff.), and likewise the observations of Geldner on p. 134 of *Ved. Studien* 2. This is the case in the above verse, not only in the first half, but in the second also where the hymns are said to delight in Night and in Dawn, i.e., to delight, as lovers do, in the union with Night and with Dawn. The import of the verse is: the hymns have praised Agni, Night and Dawn, and have shown themselves to be acceptable to them.

उशती: in *a*, is an epithet not only of जनय: but of गाव: also; and similarly, उशन्तम् is an epithet of अग्निम् and of पतिम् also. Compare I, 62, 11:—

पतिं न पत्नीरुशतीरुशन्तं स्पृशन्ति त्वा शवसावन् मनीषाः ।

'O strong one, the longing hymns touch (i.e. unite themselves sexually with) thee that art longing, as longing wives the longing husband'. Compare also X, 43, 1:—

अच्छा म इन्द्रं मतयः स्वर्विदः सध्रीचीर्विश्वा उशतीरनूषत । परिष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं मर्यं न शुन्ध्युं मघवानमूतये, in which it is said that the longing hymns praised Indra and embraced him as longing wives their longing, youthful radiant husband. उप-प्र-जिन्वन्=excited to amorous activity; see Geldner: *Ved. Studien* 2,134; सनीळा: 'having the same nest'=sharing the same bed; see *ibid.* With respect to the epithet स्वसार: in c, compare VIII, 102, 13:—

उप त्वा जामयो गिरो देदिशतीर्हविष्कृतः । वायोरनीके अस्थिरन्,

'The hymns of the sacrificer that are sisters have waited upon thee (Agni) ···' in which the epithet जामय: 'sisters' is applied to गिर: 'hymns'. Regarding अजुषन् compare VIII, 35, 5: स्तोमं जुषेथां युवशेव कन्यनाम्, 'Take delight, O ye two (Aśvins) in this hymn of praise, as two youths in a girl'. Whereas, however, the subject of √जुष् in this verse is the deity addressed, in I, 71, 1, it is the hymn.

Here too, the particle of comparison न has the force of च 'and', and श्यावीम् उषसं न=श्यावीम् उषसं च.

(3) I, 32, 2: अहन्नहिं पर्वते शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्यं ततक्ष ।
वाश्रा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः ॥

This verse is addressed to Indra. Sāyaṇa explains its second half as: स्यन्दमाना: प्रस्रवणयुक्ता: आप: । समुद्रमञ्ज: सम्यगवजग्मु: प्राप्ता: । तत्र दृष्टान्त: । वाश्रा: वत्सान् प्रति हम्भारवोपेता: धेनव: इव । यथा धेनव: सहसा वत्सगृहे गच्छन्ति तद्वत्; Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava as: शब्दकारिण्योऽभिनवप्रसूता इव धेनवो वत्सान् प्रति स्यन्दमाना: । अञ्जसा अन्तरिक्षं प्रत्यवगता आप: यद्वोदधिं प्रति गता:; and *Skandasvāmin* as: वाश्रा इव धेनवो यथा वाशनशीला अभिनवप्रस्नुत

वत्सान् प्रति गच्छेयुः, एवं स्यन्दमानाः स्रवन्त्यः। अञ्जः। ऋजुपर्यायोऽयम्। क्रियाविशेषणञ्चेदम्। तृतीयार्थे वा प्रथमा। ऋजुना मार्गेण समुद्रम्। अन्तरिक्षनामैतत्। पञ्चम्यर्थे चात्र द्वितीया। समुद्राद् अन्तरिक्षात्। अव भूमिं प्रति जग्मुः गता आपः। अथवा समुद्रमिति पार्थिव एव समुद्रोऽभिप्रेतः। स्वार्थ एव द्वितीया। हतेऽहौ तस्याधः पार्थिवं समुद्रं प्रति जग्मुराप इति।

Ludwig translates the second half of the verse as, 'Running with haste like lowing cows, the waters glided down to the ocean', and Grassmann as, 'Lowing like cows, the waters, flowing in torrents, sped quickly down to the ocean'.

The root √स्यन्द् has two meanings—(1) 'to glide, to run, to flee' and (2) 'to ooze'. It is employed with both these meanings in this verse, which signifies: 'He (Indra) killed the dragon who had his lair in the mountain. Tvaṣṭṛ forged the bright vajra for him. The Waters, running, overflowing in torrents and making a loud sound, went straight to the ocean as milch-cows, oozing (milk from their udders), running and lowing (go to their calves)'

The word स्यन्दमानाः is to be construed with both धेनवः and आपः; in connection with each of these words, it signifies (1) running, and (2) oozing, i.e., overflowing (with milk or water). It should be noted that the श्लेष employed in this verse is independent of the उपमा; that is to say, स्यन्दमानाः would have to be given both the above meanings even if there were no उपमा and धेनवः or आपः was neither उपमेय nor उपमान. Compare in this connection the following passage on p. 87 of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* द्विजानां राजा गुरुदारग्रहणमकार्षीत्। पुरूरवा ब्राह्मणधनतृष्णया यदि तेनायुषा व्यायुज्यत। नहुषः परकलत्राभिलाषी महाभुजङ्ग आसीत्.

Though there is no उपमा in this passage, गुरु has to be interpreted in two ways, as (1) preceptor, elder, and (2) Bṛhaspati, and similarly, आयुस् as (1) period of longevity or life, and (2) आयुस्, and महाभुजङ्ग as (1) big snake, and (2) great rake.

The waters described in *pāda d* as going to the ocean are, of course, the waters of the rivers. The rivers themselves, instead of the waters, are mentioned, under the name सिन्धवः in VIII, 44, 22:—

अग्ने धृतव्रताय ते समुद्रायेव सिन्धवः। गिरो वाश्रास ईरते।

Here too वाश्रासः is to be construed with both सिन्धवः and गिरः and धृतव्रताय with both ते and समुद्राय. The meaning of the verse is: 'O Agni, towards thee that upholdest the Law, run the loud-sounding hymns, as loud-sounding rivers to the ocean that obeys the law'[1]. Compare also VI,36, 3: समुद्रं न सिन्धव उक्थशुष्मा उरुव्यचसं गिर आ विशन्ति 'The loud-sounding hymns enter into (Indra) of vast expanse, as loud-sounding rivers into the ocean of vast expanse'.

1. I.e., that does not transgress the boundary or limit (मर्यादा; वेला). It is commonplace in classical Sanskrit literature to represent the ocean as such. Compare for instance *Subhaṣita-ratnabhaṇḍagara* (1911 ed.), p.52, v. 210: प्राणात्ययेऽपि न तु साधु-जनः सुवृत्तं, वेलां समुद्र इव लङ्घयितुं समर्थः।

(4) VI, 9, 1: अहश्च कृष्णमहरर्जुनञ्च वि वर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभिः ।
वैश्वानरो जायमानो न राजाऽवातिरज्ज्योतिषाग्निस्तमांसि ॥

This verse is addressed to अग्नि वैश्वानर and is explained by Sāyaṇa as follows आहरति पुरुषोऽस्मिन् कर्माणीति अहः । कृष्णं कृष्णवर्णम् । एतत्सामानाधिकरण्यादहःशब्दो रात्रिवचनः । तमसा कृष्णवर्णा रात्रिश्च अर्जुनञ्च सौरेण तेजसा शुक्लवर्णम् अहो दिवसश्च रजसी स्व-स्व-भासा सर्वं जगद्रञ्जयन्तौ । वेद्याभिः वेदितव्याभिरनुकूलतया ज्ञातव्याभिः स्वप्रवृत्तिभिः । विवर्तेते । विविधं पर्यावर्तेते । यद्वा रजसी द्यावापृथिव्यौ । उपलक्षणमेतत् । लोकत्रयं प्रत्यावर्तेते । एतच्च वैश्वानराग्नेराज्ञयेति शेषः । स हि देवतात्वेनात्र प्रतिपाद्यः । स च वैश्वानरोऽग्निः जायमानो न राजा प्रादुर्भवन् वर्धमानो राजेव ज्योतिषा तेजसा । तमांसि अवातिरत् । अवतिरतिर्वधकर्मा । अवतिरति विनाशयति ।

Grassmann translates the verse as, 'The dark atmosphere and the bright roll of themselves the two halves of the day, black and white. The refuge of all men, Agni, a king, expelled darkness with his light as soon as he was born', and Ludwig (no. 375; p. 395) as, 'Dark is one (half of the) day, and bright, the other; the two regions go away from each other with their knowledge. अग्नि वैश्वानर, at the time of his kingly birth, made the darkness go down by means of his light'. Hillebrandt (*Lieder des* RV. p. 24) translates as, 'The black day and the white (i. e., night and day) roll according to their judgment through the two atmospheres. Like a king at the time of his birth, अग्नि वैश्वानर overcame the darkness with his light', and explains in a footnote that *pādas* c d can also be translated as, 'At the time of being born, अग्नि वैश्वानर, like a king, overcame the darkness with his light', and that this translation postulates, even for the time of the Veda, a mystic belief similar to that referred to by Windisch (*Buddha's Geburt*, p. 136, 177) in connection with the conception and birth of the Buddha.

The above interpretations are all unsatisfactory. *Pādas* c d, it is very clear, contain a comparison of अग्नि वैश्वानर with a राजन्, the सामान्य-धर्म being the dispelling of darkness. This comparison is wholly effaced in the translation of Grassmann and Ludwig, while Sāyaṇa's interpretation, though giving the equivalents of the words of the comparison, is inept in that it does not explain how a king dispels darkness with his light. This is the case with Hillebrandt's first explanation also; and to his second, his reference to the existence of a mystical belief is very unconvincing.

As a matter of fact, there is no need to have recourse to mystic or other beliefs in order to explain the comparison. The word राजन् signifies not only 'king' but 'moon' also (compare *Amarakośa* 3, 3, 111: राजा मृगाङ्के क्षत्रिये नृपे, and *Medinī*: राजा प्रभौ च नृपतौ क्षत्रिये रजनीपतौ यक्षे शक्रे च पुंसि स्यात्, and is frequently employed by poets in that sense. Compare for instance *Subandhu's Vāsavadatta* (S'rīraṅgam ed.), p, 27: राजविरुद्धता पङ्कजानाम्; *ibid* p, 158: सुराजेव समृद्धकुवलयः; *Kuvalayānanda* (*s'leṣālaṅkāra-prakaraṇa*): असावुदयमारूढः कान्तिमान् रक्तमण्डलः । राजा हरति लोकस्य हृदयं मृदुलैः करैः; *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* p. 256, v. 232:

लक्ष्मीनिवास इति वारिरुहां प्रसिद्धिरन्वेषिताः कतिपया वरटास्तु सन्ति। राज्ञि प्रसारित-करे किमहं ददामि सङ्कोचितं वदनमम्बुरुहैरितीव ; *ibid.* p, 126, v. 165 : प्रौढिं धत्तां कलासु प्रथयतु कुमुदं सत्पथे सञ्चरद्वा, नेत्रानन्दं विधत्तामवतु च विबुधानस्तु राजा तथाऽपि । दोषान्वेषी कलङ्की सहज-जडतनुः सक्षयः पक्षपाती, नक्षत्रेशः कथं वा कलयतु तुलनां रामचन्द्रेण चन्द्रः ; *Campūrāmāyaṇa* 2, 61 : अभूदराजकं म्लानसद्-गणं गगनाङ्गणम्। आलोक्येव तदाशान्तम् अशेषं च महीतलम् ; *ibid.* 4, 36 : द्राग् वारुणीभजननिह्नुतराजतेजो निष्क्रान्त-तारम् उपशान्ततमोविकारम् । पूर्वाशया विशति सत्पथभाजि मित्रे सत्यं निशान्तसममस्य निशान्तमासीत्[1]. It is also well-known that the moon dispels darkness ; and hence there is no doubt that राजा, in *Pāda* c, signifies 'moon'. The meaning of the verse is :

'The dark day and the white (i.e., night and day) roll alternately round the two worlds (the visible world and that which is invisible to us) of their own volition, like the moon, अग्नि वैश्वानर, being born, dispelled darkness with his light'.

जायमानः is to be construed with अग्नि वैश्वानर and also with राजा when it signifies 'rising'. Compare the following verses in the *Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (nos. 83,90,114, 5,6,8, 19 in the section on चन्द्रोदय-वर्णन ; p. 313 ff.) in which the moon is described as dispelling the darkness after rising : सुधारश्मिः सद्यस्तिमिरनिकरान्तं विरचयन्नलिन्देभ्यः स्यन्दं शशिमणिसमुत्थं च वितरन्। उदेत्यादौ रक्ताम्बुज-समरुचिः कैरववने, प्रमोदं तन्वानो मधुपवनितागीतिमधुरम् । तैः सर्वङ्गी-भवद् अभिसृतानेत्र-सिद्धाञ्जनैर्वा नीरन्ध्रैर्वा त्रिभुवनदृशमन्धपट्टैस्तमोभिः । व्याप्तं पृथिवीवलयमखिलं क्षालयन् उच्छलद्भि-र्ज्योत्स्ना-जालैरयमुदयते शर्वरी-सार्वभौमः ॥ यं प्राक् प्रत्यग् अवाग् उदञ्चि ककुभां नामानि संबिभ्रतं ज्योत्स्ना-जाल-झलज्झलाभिरभितो लुम्पन्तम् अन्धं-तमः । प्राचीनादचलाद् इतस्त्रिजगतामालोक-बीजाद् बहिर्निर्यान्तं हरिणाङ्कमङ्कुरमिव द्रष्टुं जनो जीवति। नयनानन्ददायीन्दोर्बिम्बमेतत् प्रसीदति। अधुना विनिरुद्धाशं प्रविशीर्णमिदं तमः। नाशयन्तो घनध्वान्तं तापयन्तो वियोगिनः। पतन्ति शशिनः पादा भासयन्तः क्षमातलम् ॥ इदमाभाति गगने भिन्दानं सन्ततं तमः। अमन्दनयनानन्दकरं मण्डलमैन्दवम् ॥ उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम्। यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया पुरोऽपि रागाद् गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

(5) I, 130, 1: एन्द्र या प नः परावतो नायमच्छा विदथानीव सत्पतिरस्तं राजेव सत्पतिः ।
हवामहे त्वा वयं प्रयस्वन्तः सुते सचा ।
पुत्रासो न पितरं वाजसातये मंहिष्ठं वाजसातये ॥

This verse is addressed to Indra ; *pādas a b c* are explained by *Sāyaṇa* as : हे इन्द्र, परावतः दूरदेशात् । स्वर्गलक्षणान्नोऽस्मानुपयाहि अस्मत्समीपं प्रत्यागच्छ । तत्र दृष्टान्तः— अयं न पुरोवर्ती अग्निरभिषुतः सोमो वा प्रस्तुतत्वान्निर्दिश्यते स इव । यद्यपि पुरस्तादुपचारान्निषेधार्थीयो नकारः सर्वत्र, तथाप्यत्रौचित्येनोपमार्थीयो गृह्यते । यद्वा परावतो न दूरदेशादिव । यद्यपि यज्ञे सर्वदा सन्निहितस्तथाऽपि स्वर्गाख्याद् दूरदेशादिव अस्मिन् यज्ञे । अयमिति विभक्तिव्यत्ययः। अमुं देवयजनदेशम् अच्छ अभिप्राप्तुम् आयाहीति शेषः। तत्र दृष्टान्तः— सत्पतिः सतां सर्वदा वर्तमानानामृत्विजां पालको यजमान इव। 'पत्यावैश्वर्ये' इति पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम्। स यथा विदथानि वेदनानि अनुष्ठेयज्ञानानि यद्वा सतां विद्यमानानां फलानां पालकोऽग्निः। स यथा विदथानि यज्ञगृहाण्यागच्छति, तद्वत्। त्वमपि गृहाण्यागच्छ। यद्वा। सतां नक्षत्राणां पतिः राजा चन्द्रमा अस्तमिव। स यथा स्वधाम-

1. In all these passages, *rājan*=(1) king, and (2) moon. In the last three passages, it should be noted, *śleṣa* has been employed, not only in connection with *rājan* but also in connection with *sat* (= 1. *sat-puruṣa* and 2. *nakṣatra*) and with other words.

स्थानमागच्छति, तद्वत्, and Venkaṭa-Mādhava as , इन्द्र ! उपागच्छ अस्मान् दूरात् न अयं सोम: अभिगच्छति । हविर् आहवनीयम् । गृहान् इव राजा । तदेवाह अस्तम् इति··· ।

Grassmann translates these *pādas* as, 'O Indra, come from afar to us and to our leader, as the prince to the council, as the ruler in his dominion', and Ludwig as, 'Come to us, O Indra, from afar, likewise leading the highest leader to the sacrifice, like a king as veritable ruler to his dwelling'. Geldner translates (*RV. Über.*) as, 'Indra, come from afar to us in your own person, as a real ruler to the assembly of the wise, as a king and real ruler to his house', and proposes for विदथानि the alternative meaing of 'sacrifice' instead of 'assembly of the wise'.

We have seen above, however, that राजन् has the sense of 'moon' in VI, 9, 1; further, Sāyaṇa's third explanation of the simile in *pāda* c (in which he explains राजन् as 'moon' and सत् as नक्षत्र) fits well into the context. Hence, there can be no doubt that ṛṣi has, like the authors of three stanzas (beginning with धत्तां प्रौढिं कलासु, and cited on last p.) above, employed श्लेष here in connection with राजन् and सत्. The meaning of the verse is, 'O Indra, come quickly to us from afar as a powerful chief to the assembly, as a powerful king to his house, as the moon, lord of the nakṣatras, to the Asta mountain. Bearing food, we invoke thee for the Soma juice, thee, the most liberal, in order to win the prize, as sons invoke their father in order to gain wealth'.

In *pādas* b c the सामान्य-धर्म is lacking in connection with the similes विदथानीव सत्पति: and अस्तं राजेव सत्पति:. But the expression राजा न सत्य: सामितीरियान: which is synonymous with विदथानीव सत्पति: occurs as *pāda* b in IX, 92, 6: परि सद्मेव पशुमान्ति होता, राजा न सत्य: समितीरियान: । सोम: पुनान: कलशाँ अयासीत्, सीदन् मृगो न महिषो वनेषु which describes the flowing of the Soma juice into the jars. The सामान्य-धर्म, it is true, is lacking in connection with the similes of this verse also; but we know from other verses that the flowing of the Soma juice into the jars, is characterised by swiftness, that it is compared by RV. poets to the rushing of the falcon (श्येनो न तक्त: IX, 67, 15), to the running of the race-horse (मीळ्हे सप्तिर्न वाजयु: IX, 106, 12) and of the rivers to the ocean (वृथा समुद्रं सिन्धवो न नीची: IX, 88, 6), etc., and that √धाव् 'to run' (IX, 17, 4) and √स्यन्द् 'to run' (IX, 81, 2) are used in this connection. Similarly, swiftness characterises the movement of the buffalo towards the water or woods (cf. IX, 33, 1: अपां न यन्त्यूर्मय: । वनानि महिषा इव) and of the hotṛ priest towards his सद्मन् or abode (cf. IX, 92, 2: सीदन् होतेव सदने चमूषु; I, 180, 9: प्र स्यन्द्रा याथो मनुषो न होता). The meaning of IX, 92, 6 is thus, 'Soma, being cleansed, moved towards the jars (swiftly), like the होतृ to his abode furnished with deer-skin, like a mighty king going to the assemblies, like a buffalo going to settle in the waters (or woods)'; and accordingly, the सामान्य-धर्म in connection with the similes in *pādas* b c of I, 130, 1 too is swiftness. As in

scores of other verses[1], Indra is invoked in this verse too to come quickly from afar to the sacrifice and Soma juice prepared for him by the priests.

The meaning of नायम् in *pāda a* is not certain; for literature connected therewith, see Oldenberg's RV. *Noten.* I have here translated it tentatively as 'quickly' because this meaning fits the context, not only in this verse, but in the other verses also in which it occurs. In *pāda* c the words अस्तम्, राजा and सत्पतिः have to be interpreted in two ways, as already observed above. Regarding the simile in *pāda f*, compare VII, 32,3: रायस्कामो वज्रहस्तं सुदक्षिणं पुत्रो न पितरं हुवे 'Desirous of wealth, I invoke the very liberal and vajra- armed Indra, as a son does his father'.

1. Compare for instance:—

IV,21,3: आ यात्विन्द्रो दिव आ पृथिव्या मक्षू समुद्रादुत वा पुरीषात्। स्वर्णरादवसे नो मरुत्वान् परावतो वा सदनादृतस्य; VI, 41, 1: अहेळमान उप याहि यज्ञं तुभ्यं पवन्त इन्दवः सुतासः। गावो न वज्रिन् स्वमोको अच्छेन्द्रा गहि प्रथमो यज्ञियानाम्; VIII,65,1: यदिन्द्र प्रागपागुदङ् न्यग् वा हूयसे नृभिः। आ याहि तूयमाशुभिः; X, 104, 1: असावि सोमः पुरुहूत तुभ्यं हरिभ्यां यज्ञमुप याहि तूयम्। तुभ्यं गिरो विप्रवीरा इयाना दधन्विर इन्द्र पिबा सुतस्य; X, 112 2: यस्ते रथो मनसो जवीयानेन्द्र तेन सोम-पेयाय याहि। तूयमा ते हरयः प्र द्रवन्तु येभिर्यासि वृषभिर्मन्दमानः॥

On the word Krátu.

By

S. VENKATESWARAN, *Annamalainagar.*

krátu, one of the most popular words in Ṛgveda, occurs alone as well as in compounds.[1] The word is used in the sense of ability, efficiency or power to carry out any work.[2] This fundamental idea of power has in the RV. itself radiated in various directions.

Statistically the word *krátu* is associated most with Indra, then with Agni, Soma and also with other gods like Maruts, Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Uṣas and Manyu, personified.[3]

Having the fundamental sense of efficiency, power or strength, the word *krátu* seems to have acquired an adventitious sense according to the nature of inherent qualities of the god or object with which it is associated. Thus, when associated with Indra, the most anthropomorphic god of the Vedic pantheon, the idea of physical power appears to be predominantly expressed by the word. Indra is essentially a warrior god, the Vedic Mars. His might is irresistible[4] and the epithets *śacīpati*[5] 'lord of might' and *śatákratu*[6] are mostly applied to him. With his thunderbolt, he rends the clouds and mountains[7] and destroys Vṛtra[8]. He performs cosmic deeds under the influence of the Soma.[9]

In association with Agni, *krátu* seems to refer to the power of the intellect. Agni is less anthropomorphic than Indra. While little is said about his physical features, his omniscience and wisdom are

1. *kratu* in compounds : *kratu-vid-* 'bestowing strength' RV. IX, 44, 6; 86, 48 (Soma); 'having intellectual strength', RV. IX, 2, 5 (Agni); *su-krátu-* 'having excellent power, wisdom' epithet of Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Soma, etc., also *śatá-kratu-*, *kaví-kratu-*, *tuvi-kratu-* etc.

2. RV. 1, 55, 8 : *tanū́ṣu te krátava Indra bhū́rayaḥ* ; I, 143, 2 ; VI, 17, 6 etc.

3. Indra RV. I, 175, 5 ; IV, 21, 2 ; VIII, 63, 1 ; X, 105, 6 ; etc., Agni I, 19, 2 ; 141, 9 ; II, 5, 4 ; 12, 1 etc., Soma I, 91, 2 ; IX, 4, 5 ; 6 ; 102, 8 ; X, 25, 4 etc., Maruts I, 64, 13 ; V, 87, 2 ; Mitra I, 151, 2 ; Varuṇa I, 123, 8 ; VII, 89, 5 ; Mitrāvaruṇa I, 2, 8 ; Pūṣan I, 42, 7-9 : *Pūṣanniha krátum vidaḥ* ; Uṣas, I, 123, 13 : *bhadrám bhadram krátum asmā́su dhehi* ; Manyu X, 83, 5 ; 84, 5.

4. *vide* RV. I, 84, 2 ; IV, 18, 4 ; VI, 30, 4 ; VII, 32, 23 ; VIII, 51, 7.

5. *śácīpáti-* (Indra) RV. I, 106, 6 ; IV, 30, 17 ; VIII, 15, 13 etc.

6. *śatákratu-* (Indra) RV. I, 4, 9 ; 30, 1 ; 51, 2 ; IV, 30, 16 etc

7. RV. I, 57, 6 ; 103, 2 ; II, 11, 2 ; III, 26, 6 ; IV, 17, 1 ; V, 32, 1 ; 2.

8. RV. I, 32, 5 ; 61, 10 ; II, 14, 2 ; X, 89, 17 etc.

9. RV. II, 15, 2.

stressed in RV. He sees and knows all creatures[1], all rites[2], the divine ordinance and generations of men[3] — in short, everything[4]. He is the source of wisdom[5] and is the inspirer and inventor of brilliant speech and prayers[6]. While he exclusively bears the epithet *jātávedas* (VI, 15, 3) he is also known as *viśvávid*, *viśvávedas*, *kaví* and *kavíkratu*, all of which lay emphasis on his omniscience and wisdom. Foresight and understanding are only different aspects of the power of the intellect. Hence *krátu* when associated with Agni should naturally mean the power of the intellect.

Distinct from the power of the body and the intellect is the power of the mind or will denoted by the word *krátu*. The instrumental *krátvā* means 'willingly'.[7] Akin to this power of the mind is the sacred intention for composing prayers or conducting sacrifices, likewise is also the power of the spirit (spiritual power). Sometimes *krátu* denotes the mind as the seat of thought and is often used along with the root √*pū* 'to purify' in RV.[8]

When applied to Soma, *krátu* is the drink of strength[9] as well as the inspiring power —boon of tasting the Soma juice[10]. It inspires Indra with power to perform cosmic deeds, the poet to compose song and the priest to conduct the ritual efficiently.

While referring to gods and men, *krátu* means a strong person or hero[11].

With the increasing importance given to the rituals in post-Ṛgvedic period, the sense of *krátu* appears to have undergone a narrowing in sense. It is restricted in the sense of the sacrificial ritual, especially the Soma sacrifice[12], considered as the most efficient form of offering or worship.

Kālidāsa describes the histrionic art as a charming and visible form of *krátu* offered to the gods[13]. In the *Mahābhārata*, *kratu* figures as the sixth son of Brahmā, as one of the twenty-one Prajāpatis (secondary creators) and as one of the seven sages. *kratu*, there, is also one of the names of Lord Viṣṇu.

1. III, 55, 10 ; X, 187, 4.
2. X, 122, 2.
3. X, 70, 1 ; 3.
4. X, 11, 1.
5. III, 11, 5 ; VIII, 91, 8 ; X, 21, 5.
6. II, 9, 4 ; VI, 1, 1.
7. RV. IV, 21, 10 ; V, 29, 5 ; VI, 5, 3 ; 16-26 ; IX, 16, 4.
8. III, 1, 5 : *krátum punānáḥ kavíbhiḥ pavítraiḥ* ; also VIII, 12, 11 ; 13, 1 ; etc.
9. RV. I, 91, 5 ; VIII, 78, 7 : *krátva it pūrṇám udarám*.
10. RV. VII, 61, 2 ; X, 87, 1.
11. Agni RV. I, 66, 5 ; 77, 3 : *sá hí krátuḥ* ; III, 11, 6 ; VI, 9, 5 ; Indra X, 104, 10 : *vīréṇyaḥ krátuḥ índraḥ* ; Soma IX, 86, 43 ; 107, 3 : *krátur índur vicakṣaṇáḥ*.
12. Sāyaṇa on ŚB. XI, 5, 5, 12, *kratavaḥ somayāgāḥ*.
13. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act I, verse 4.

The word appears to go back to √kṛ 'to do, to carry out any work efficiently'. The original sense of the root seems to have developed in two divergent streams, one dominated by the idea of doing or acting and the other by that of the power to act or carry out any work. The sense of 'act, rite, offering or sacrifice' must belong to the former while that of 'power or strength in its divers forms' to the latter. In RV. the sense of act or offering[1] is very rare while that of power attached to the word *krátu* is very common[2]. The reverse is the case in Ṛgvedic and classical literature. Thus the idea of offering or sacrifice seems to have asserted itself in post-Ṛgvedic literature, while that of 'power' appears to have gradually disappeared. The derivation from √kṛ is suggested by the Brāhmaṇa texts[3] and endorsed by the *Nirukta*[4] which interprets it as strength as well as sacred work. With *krátu* may be compared the word *krāṇa* 'active, busy' found in RV.[5] and traced to √kṛ by Grassmann.

V.K. Rajwade[6], on the analogy of *ṛtu*, *gātu* and *yātu*, traces *krátu* to √*kra*, a pre-Ṛgvedic root of which *kratu* is a remnant According to him √*kra* means (1) to give wealth or offerings (2) to do acts of bravery, to be strong. When *krátu* is used with referrence to Agni or Indra, he interprets it in the majority of cases as meaning wealth. If Agni and Indra are approved givers of wealth and the word *krátu* should be connected with wealth, it appears sensible to take *krátu* in such contexts to mean power or strength arising from wealth. For, the sense of power or strength of the word *krátu* is quite patent in the RV. The root √*kra* with the two meanings which V. K. Rajwade ascribes to it will yield both the meanings of offering (sacrifice) and power (strength) which the word possesses[7]. *It has probably the support of the Greek language also. Assuming √*kra* to be the root, it would go back to an original **qse-t-* 'to be strong (which is an expanded form of **qre-*, *qar-*). Thus, Skt. *kra-*, *kratu* Zd. *xrátu* 'spiritual strength', Gk. κρατύς, καρτα 'strong', κρατερός καρτερός 'strong, firm' etc., Lit. *kartús* 'bitter' (cf. *Walde-Pokorny*).

The above pre-Ṛgvedic √*kra* might have also merged in √*kṛ*, *kar* which originally possessed both the ideas of acting and being strong or powerful. In the RV. period the idea of acting was feeble

1. IV, 41, 1 ; *Yó vām hṛdi krátumān*... (with offerings) *vide* V. K. Rajwade *Words in Ṛg-Veda* p. 159, also RV. VIII, 43, 6.

2. *vide* V, 43, 5 ; VIII, 92, 8 ; *náram avāryákratum*.

3. ŚB. IV, 1, 4, 1 : *sa kāmayate* ... idam *kurvīyeti sa eva kratuḥ* ; Ch. Up. III, 14, 1 : *sa kratum kurvīta*.

4. Nir. 2, 28 : *kratuḥ karma vā prajñā vā*, 10, 10 : *kratunā karmaṇā*.

5. Agni RV. I, 58, 3 : *krāṇā* ...... *puróhitaḥ*.

6. *Words in Ṛg-Veda* p. 212.

7. But √*kra* is based on inference only.

in the case of *krátu*; but it becomes emphasized during the post-Ṛgvedic period when *krátu* is predominantly used in the sense of a rite or sacrifice.

The different meanings of *krátu* in RV. with the sense of power or strength forming the central idea, may be compared to the different meanings of 'power' in English, viz. (1) control over one's subordinates, (2) delegated authority, (3) physical strength, (4) mechanical energy, (5) one of the mechanical (as a lever), (6) moral or intellectual force, (7) person of influence, (8) one of the nations of the world, (9) mathematical conception, (10) army or troop (cf. force, forces), (11) effective quality of style in writing, oratory etc[1]. The primary meaning at the root of all the above senses is the state of being able to do something, from OFr. *pouer*, Mod. Fr. *pouvoir* 'to be able'. Without leaving its original central meaning the word radiates in eleven different directions. The same is the case with *krátu*, which, while preserving the central idea of power refers also to the power relating to the body, the intellect, the mind, spirit, etc., in Ṛgveda. This phenomenon is known as radiation of meaning.

1. *vide* Eric Partridge: *The World of Words*, p. 641.

वैदिकालंकार-निदर्शनम्

निबन्धकः, विद्यानिधिः, करनाल

ये तावत् साहित्ये शब्दार्थतदुभयनिष्ठा अनुप्रासादयोऽलंकाराः प्रसिद्धास्तेष्वेव केषांचिद् वेदाख्ये महाकाव्ये निदर्शनमिह प्रदर्श्यते । तद्यथा—

१—अनुप्रासः

मन्द्रिमिन्द्राय मन्दिने । चाक्रिं विश्वानि चक्रये ॥ ऋ. १, ९, २
अग्निमग्निं वः समिधा दुवस्यत प्रियंप्रियं वो अतिथिं गृणीषणि ॥ ऋ. ६, १५, ६
समिद्धमग्निं समिधा गिरा गृणे शुचिं पावकं पुरो अध्वरे ध्रुवम् ॥ ऋ. ६, १५, ७
स्वादुष्किलायं मधुमाँ उतायं तीव्रः किलायं रसवाँ उतायम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ४७, १
उलूकयातुं शुशुलूकयातुं जहि श्वयातुमुत कोकयातुम् ॥ ऋ. ७, १०४, २२
मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥ ऋ. ८, १०१, १५
सं जागृवद्भिर्जरमाण इध्यते दमे दमूना इषयन्निळस्पदे ।
विश्वस्य होता हविषो वरेण्यो विभुर्विभावा सुषखा सखीयते ॥
स दर्शतश्रीरतिथिर्गृहेगृहे वनेवने शिश्रिये तक्ववीरिव ।
जनंजनं जन्यो नाति मन्यते विश आ क्षेति विश्यो विशंविशम् ॥
सुदक्षो दक्षैः क्रतुनासि सुक्रतुरग्ने कविः काव्येनासि विश्ववित् ।
वसुर्वसूनां क्षयसि त्वमेक इद् द्यावा च यानि पृथिवी च पुष्यतः ॥ ऋ. १०, ९१, १-३

इत्येवमादिषु बहुलं शब्दसाम्यादनुप्रासन्यासः ।

२—यमकम्

उप नो हरिभिः सुतं याहि मदानां पते ।
उप नो हरिभिः सुतम् ॥ ऋ. ८, ९३, ३१
तरत् स मन्दी धावति धारा सुतस्यान्धसः ।
तरत् स मन्दी धावति ॥ ऋ. ९, ५८, १

एवंवृत्तेषु वृत्तेषु शब्दावृत्तेर्यमकम् ।

३—उपमा

स नः पितेव सूनवेऽग्ने सूपायनो भव ।
सचस्वा नः स्वस्तये ॥ ऋ. १, १, ९
इन्द्र क्रतुं न आ भर पिता पुत्रेभ्यो यथा ॥ ऋ. ७, ३२, २६
पुत्रायेव पितरा मह्यं शिक्षतम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ३९, ६
उदीरय पितरा जार आ भगम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ११, ६
मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः ॥ ऋ. १०, १८०, २

इत्यादाव् आ-इव-न-यथा-प्रभृतिभिः शब्दैरुपमाप्रपञ्चो द्रष्टव्यः ।

अरातीयतो नि दहाति वेदः ॥ ऋ. १, ९९, १

इत्यादौ क्यजन्तनामधातुनोपमा प्रमाविषयो भवति ।

प्रियमेधवदत्रिवत् ॥ ऋ. १, ४५, ३

इत्यत्र च तद्धितप्रत्ययेन वतिना ।

४—अनन्वयः

नकिरिन्द्र त्वदुत्तरो न ज्यायाँ अस्ति वृत्रहन् ।
नकिरेवा यथा त्वम् ॥ ऋ. ४, ३०, १

नास्य शत्रुर्न प्रतिमानमस्ति ॥ ऋ. ६, १८, १२

आत्मनात्मानमभि सं विवेश ॥ मा. ३२, ११

महिमा तेऽन्येन न संनशे ॥ मा. २३, १५

न त्वावाँ अन्यो दिव्यो न पार्थिवो न जातो न जनिष्यते ॥ मा. २७, ३६

इत्यादिष्वेकस्यैवात्मनः स्वयमुपमानोपमेयत्वेन वर्णनादनन्वयः ।

५—उपमेयोपमा

समानबन्धू अमृते अनूची द्यावा वर्णं चरत आमिनाने ॥ ऋ. १, ११३, २

अत्र आमिनाने=अन्योन्यस्याध्यात्मं कुर्वाणे इति विवरणाद् रात्र्युषसोः ।

कतरा पूर्वा कतरापरायोः ॥ ऋ. १, १८५, १

इत्यादौ सूक्ते च द्यावापृथिव्योरितरेतरमुपमेयत्वमुपमानत्वं चोन्नेयम् । तस्मात् गम्य एवात्रोपमेयोपमालंकारः सहृदयहृदयाह्लादहेतुः ।

उभा जिग्यथुर्न परा जयेथे, न परा जिग्ये कतरश्चनैनोः ।
इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेथां त्रेधा सहस्रं वि तदैरयेथाम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ६९, ८

अत्रेन्द्रस्य विष्णोश्चान्योन्यमुपमानोपमेयभावः प्रकारान्तरेणोपनिबद्धः ।

६—उत्प्रेक्षा

अस्येदु भिया गिरयश्च दृळ्हा, द्यावा च भूमा जनुषस्तुजेते ॥ ऋ. १, ६१, १४

अत्रेन्द्रस्य भियेव गिरीणां दृढत्वं द्यावाभूम्योश्च कम्पनं संभाव्यते । तच्च संभावनमिवादिवाचकशब्दाभावाद् गम्यमित्यतो गम्योत्प्रेक्षेयम् ।

प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति ॥ ऋ. १, १२४, ३

अत्रोषसो दिशः संभ्रमाभावे प्रज्ञानमस्तीति संभावनावाचकेनेवशब्देन द्योत्यते ।

वक्ष्यन्तीवेदा गनीगन्ति कर्णम् ॥ ऋ. ६, ७५, ३

अत्र कर्णं प्रत्याकृष्यमाणा ज्या किमपि वक्ष्यतीतीवशब्देनोत्प्रेक्ष्यते ।

७—रूपकम्

यः कुक्षिः सोमपातमः समुद्र इव पिन्वते ॥ ऋ. १, ८, ७

अत्र सोमपातम इन्द्रे कुक्षित्वारोपाद् रूपकम् ।

ता भूरिपाशावनृतस्य सेतू ॥ ऋ. ७, ६५, ३

अत्र मित्रावरुणयोः सेतुत्वारोपः ।

दिव्या अङ्गारा इरिणे न्युप्ताः ॥ ऋ. १०, ३४, ९

अत्र संचक्ष्याणामक्षाणां विषये दिव्याङ्गारत्वारोपः स्फुटं चमत्करोति रूपकमिति ।

तेजोऽसि तेजो मयि धेहि ॥ मा. १९, ९

अत्र तेजोबलादीनां प्रदातरि सोमे तेज आदीनां साक्षादारोपः । आयुर्घृतमितिवत् ।

बहुलं समाचारोऽस्यालंकारस्याम्नाये दृश्यते । मालारूपेणाप्ययमाप्याययति चतुरचेतसां चेतः । तद्यथा—

ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् ।

श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् ॥ ऋ. ९, ९६, ६

अत्र सोमो देवानां मध्ये ब्रह्मा, कवीनां मध्ये पदवीः, विप्राणां मध्ये ऋषिरित्येवमेकस्यैव सोमस्य ब्रह्मादिरूपनिरूपणान्निपुणं मालारूपकतायां पर्यवस्यति ।

८—श्लेषः

ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति विश्वा रूपाणि बिभ्रतः ।

वाचस्पतिर्बला तेषां तन्वो अद्य दधातु मे ॥ शौ. १, १, १

अत्र वाचस्पतिर्बृहस्पतिः परम आत्मा वैयाकरणश्च श्लेषेण बोध्यते । वैयाकरणोऽपि त्रिः सप्त स्वौजसादीनि रूपाणि बिभ्रद् वाचामाचार्यतायाः पदमनुभवितुमलंकर्मीण एव ।

९—अपह्नुतिः

न वा उ एतन् म्रियसे न रिष्यसि देवाँ इदेषि पथिभिः सुगेभिः ॥ मा. २५, ४४

अत्र प्रकृतमश्वस्य मरणं निषिध्य 'त्वं देवान् एषि' इत्यप्रकृतमुपस्थाप्यते तस्मादपह्नुतिः ।

१०—व्याजोक्तिः

प्र सु स्तोमं भरत वाजयन्त इन्द्राय सत्यं यदि सत्यमस्ति ।

नेन्द्रो अस्तीति नेम उ त्व आह क ईं ददर्श कमभि ष्टवाम ॥ ऋ. ८, १००, ३

अत्रेन्द्रस्य वस्तुतः सत्यत्वेऽपि नेम ऋषिः 'नेन्द्रोऽस्ति' इति छद्मना मनागुन्मना इव तं निगूहति । प्रस्तुतवस्तुस्तुत्यतिशयश्चात्र व्यङ्ग्यः, तस्माद् व्याजोक्तिः ।

११—व्याजस्तुतिः

एतद् घेदुत वीर्यमिन्द्र चकर्थ पौंस्यम् ।

स्त्रियं यद् दुर्हणायुवं वधीर्दुहितरं दिवः ॥ ऋ. ४, ३०, ८

हे इन्द्र ! एतदेव ते पुंस्त्वसम्बन्धि वीर्यं यद् दिवो दुहितरं स्त्रियमवधीरिति निन्दाव्याजेन स्तुतिः क्रियते । उद्यन्निन्द्रः—आदित्यः दिवो दुहितरमुषसं विहन्त्येवेति वस्तुस्थितिः । एवम्—

किमङ्ग त्वा ब्रह्मणः सोम गोपां किमङ्ग त्वाहुरभिशस्तिपां नः ।

किमङ्ग नः पश्यसि निद्यमानान् ब्रह्मद्विषे तपुषिं हेतिमस्य ॥ ऋ. ६, ५२,३

अत्र हे सोम ! यदि नोऽस्मान् निन्द्यमानान् पश्यसि तर्हि किमिति त्वं ब्रह्मगोपाः, अस्माकमभिशस्तिपाश्चोच्यसे, मुधैव तत्ते विकत्थनमित्यमन्दं निन्दामुखेन स्तूयते सोमः ॥

१२—अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परि षस्वजाते ।

तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति ॥ ऋ. १, १६४, २०

अत्राप्रकृतस्य पक्षिद्वयस्य वृक्षस्य चोपक्षेपाज्जीवब्रह्मप्रकृतीनां प्रकृतानां शंसनमस्तीत्यप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा। तत्रापि द्वयोः सयुजोर्जीवब्रह्मणोरेकः स्वादु पिप्पलं कर्मफलमश्नाति, परस्त्वनश्नन्नेव केवलं साक्षित्वेनावतिष्ठत इति जीवब्रह्मव्यतिरेकोऽपि स्फुटं प्रकटीक्रियते। एवं व्यतिरेकालंकारेण संसृष्टाऽप्रस्तुतप्रशंसेहाऽच्छमतिभिः परिच्छेत्तव्या।

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यां आ विवेश॥ ऋ. ४, ५८, ३

अत्राऽप्रस्तुतस्य वृषभस्योपवर्णनात् प्रस्तुतं शब्दब्रह्म यज्ञकाण्डं वा वर्ण्यते, तस्मादप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा।

१३—समासोक्तिः

युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात् स उ श्रेयान् भवति जायमानः।
तं धीरासः कवय उन्नयन्ति स्वाध्यो मनसा देवयन्तः॥ ऋ. ३, ८, ४

अत्र प्रस्तुतो यूपाख्यवनस्पतिरूपोऽर्थः श्लिष्टविशेषणमाहात्म्याद् ब्रह्मचारिरूपमर्थान्तरमप्रस्तुतं गमयति, तस्मात् समासोक्तिः। यथा युवा यौवनादिगुणोपेतः सुवासाः शोभनवासाः यूपः कविभिरुन्नीयते यज्ञे तथा तादृशगुणविशिष्टं शिष्टाः कवयो वर्णिनमुन्नयन्तीति सामर्थ्यादुपमानोपमेयभावश्चमत्करोति। एवम्—

तनूनपात् पवमानः शृङ्गे शिशानो अर्षति। अन्तरिक्षेण रारजत्॥ ऋ. ९, ५, २

अत्र पवमानः सोमः प्रस्तुतः 'शृङ्गे शिशानः' इत्यादिविशेषणैरप्रस्तुतस्य वृषभस्य रहस्यमवभासयति॥

१४—निदर्शना

तस्मै नूनमभिद्यवे वाचा विरूप नित्यया। वृष्णे चोदस्व सुष्टुतिम्॥ ऋ. ८, ७५, ६

अत्र विरूप ऋषिः 'नित्यया वाचा' इति निर्दिशन्नेवं निदर्शयति यद् भगवता स्वयंभुवा नित्या वागुत्सृष्टेति, इतरथा 'वाचा' इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यात्। स्वयं नित्यया वाचा वृष्णे इन्द्राय सुष्टुतिं कुर्वाणेन श्रुतिर्भगवती नित्यया वाचाऽभिष्टुतास्तीति निदर्शनया प्रदर्श्यते। एवम्—

यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः॥ मा. २५, १३

अत्र छायाऽन्या, अमृतं चान्यत्। तथापि छायाऽमृतमित्युक्ता। तत्र 'अभवन् वस्तुसंबन्ध उपमापरिकल्पकः' इति निदर्शनया यस्य च्छायाऽमृततुल्येत्युपमायां पर्यवसानम्। एवं च छायाऽमृतयोरौपम्यं रम्यं सहृदयगम्यं भवति।

१५—विभावना

आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकम्॥ ऋ. १०, १२९, २

अत्र वाताभावेऽपि प्राणधारणं सहृदयहृदयमाह्लादयति। प्राणधारणकारणस्य वारणेऽपि प्राणनरूपकार्यस्य भावना विभावनामभिव्यनक्ति।

१६—विशेषोक्तिः

यद् द्याव इन्द्र ते शतं शतं भूमीरुत स्युः।
न त्वा वज्रिन् त्सहस्रं सूर्या अनु न जातमष्ट रोदसी॥ ऋ. ८, ७०, ५

अत्र शतं द्यावो भूमयो वा, सहस्रं सूर्या वा चेत् स्युः, तथापीन्द्रं व्याप्तुं न ते प्रभवन्तीति व्याप्तिरूपकार्यस्य कारणे सत्यपि व्याप्तेरभावप्रतिपादनाद् विशेषोक्तिः । एतावानस्य महिमा यस्य महत्त्वं नान्वश्नुवन्ति दिवादय इति भगवतीन्द्रे भक्त्यतिशय आक्षेपलभ्यः ।

१७—काव्यलिङ्गम्

अग्रं पिबा मधूनां सुतं वायो दिविष्टिषु । त्वं हि पूर्वपा असि ॥ ऋ. ४, ४६, १

अत्र पूर्वं वायोः सोमपाने 'त्वं हि पूर्वपा असि' इति बलवान् हेतुरुक्तः । इन्द्रात् पूर्वं वायुरेव सोमं पिबतीति निश्चयेन शक्यते प्रतिपत्तुम् ।

त्वं हि नः पिता वसो त्वं माता शतक्रतो बभूविथ ।
अधा ते सुम्नमीमहे ॥ ऋ. ८, ९८, ११

अत्र हे शतक्रतो ! यतस्त्वमस्माकं पिता माता चासि तस्माद्वयं तव सकाशात् सौख्यमीप्सामः । सत्यर्थे सुखैषणायां साधीयान् हेतुरुपन्यस्तः । मातुः पितुः सकाशादेव वास्तवं पुत्राणां सुखमुत्पद्यते नान्यतः, मातापितरौ चैव पुत्रेभ्यः सौख्यमिष्टं दातुमर्हत इति काव्यलिङ्गम् ।

१८—परिवृत्तिः

वस्नेव विक्रीणावहा इषमूर्जं शतक्रतो ॥ मा. ३, ४९

अत्र सर्पिष्पूर्णा दर्वी मया दीयते त्वया च मह्यमिडूर्जौ दातव्ये इत्थं सम्पद्विनिमयेनोभाभ्यामुभौ भर्तव्याविति परिवृत्तिः ।

१९—परिकरः

इन्द्रं पृच्छा विपश्चितम् ॥ ऋ. १, ४, ४
जगृभ्मा ते दक्षिणमिन्द्र हस्तं वसूयवो वसुपते वसूनाम् ॥ ऋ. १०, ४७, १

अत्रेन्द्रस्य 'विपश्चितम्' इति 'वसूनां वसुपते' इति च विशेषणे विशिष्टमभिप्रायं पुष्णीतः । सन्दिग्धपदेषु वस्तुषु विपश्चिदेव हि प्रष्टव्यो भवति । वसूयवो वसुपतेरेव दक्षिणहस्तं गृह्णन्ति, न हि भिक्षुकस्य कस्यचिदिति परिकरालंकृतिश्चमत्कृतिं जनयति ।

वृत्रं हनति वृत्रहा शतक्रतुर्वज्रेण शतपर्वणा ॥ मा. ३३, ९६

अत्रेन्द्रस्य 'वृत्रहा, शतक्रतुः' इति साभिप्राये विशेषणे अत एव शतपर्वणा वज्रेण वृत्रं हन्तीति सत्यमुच्यते, तस्मात्परिकरः ।

साभिप्राये विशेष्ये तु **परिकराङ्कुरो**ऽलंकारः । तद्यथा—

धान्यमसि धिनुहि देवान् ॥ मा. १, २०
शर्मासि शर्म मे यच्छ ॥ मा. ४, ६
यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषः ॥ मा. ६, १

स्पष्टत्वाद् व्याख्यानं न प्रयोजयति ।

२०—दीपकम्

अग्न इन्द्र वरुण मित्र देवाः शर्धः प्रयन्त मारुतोत विष्णो ।
उभा नासत्या रुद्रो अध ग्नाः पूषा भगः सरस्वती जुषन्त ॥ मा. ३३, ४८

अत्र प्रस्तुतानामेकेषामनेकेषां वा देवानां बलप्रदानेऽर्थे युगपदन्वयाद् दीपकम् । अग्नीन्द्रवरुणादिषु कोऽपि सर्वे वा संभूय मह्यं शर्धः (बलं) प्रयच्छन्त्विति तात्पर्ये पर्यवसानात् । एवम्—

आ नासत्या त्रिभिरेकादशैरिह देवेभिर्यातं मधुपेयमश्विना ।
प्रायुस्तारिष्टं नीरपांसि मृक्षतं सेधतं द्वेषो भवतं सचाभुवा ॥ मा. ३४, ४७

अत्राश्विनोः सोमपानायाह्वानं प्रस्तुता क्रिया । तत्कालमेवायुषः प्रतीर्णता, पापनिर्मृक्षणं, द्वेषःसेधनं सहकारित्वं चाप्रस्तुतमपि क्रियाभूयस्त्वमुपात्तमेककर्तृकमित्यतो दीपकालंकारः । पूर्वस्मिन्नुदाहरणे भिन्नकर्तृकैका क्रिया, अस्मिंश्चैककर्तृका भिन्ना क्रियेति विवेकः ।

२१—तुल्ययोगिता

अश्वी रथी सुरूप इद् गोमाँ इदिन्द्र ते सखा ।
श्वात्रभाजा वयसा सचते सदा चन्द्रो याति सभामुप ॥ ऋ. ८, ४, ९

अत्राश्वी रथीत्यादिपदैः प्रस्तुतस्येन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा कोपि चन्द्राननो राजा सभामुपैति, इत्यप्रस्तुतस्य राज्ञोऽपि तुल्यं साम्यमुपात्तमिति तुल्ययोगिता ।

२२—विषमः

वृष्णो वध्रिः प्रतिमानं बुभूषन् ॥ ऋ. १, ३२, ७

अत्र वध्रिः शक्तिहीनो वृष्णः शक्तियुक्तस्य बलिष्ठस्य प्रत्यनीकतामेतीति विषमालंकारः । क्व वृषा इन्द्रः क्व च वध्रिर्वृत्रः ? भूयो वैषम्यम् ।

२३—विरोधाभासः

अपां मध्ये तस्थिवांसं तृष्णाविदज्जरितारम् ॥ ऋ. ७, ८९ ४

अत्र जलमध्ये स्थितस्यापि जलतृष्णा जातेति विरोधः ।

शीताः सन्तो हृदयं निर्दहन्ति ॥ ऋ. १०, ३४, ९

अत्र शीताः सन्तोऽप्यक्षा हृदयं दहन्ति द्यूतकारस्येति विरोधः ।

तदेजति तन्नैजति तद् दूरे तद्वन्तिके ॥ मा. ४०, ५

अत्र तदेजदपि नैजतीति, दूरे सदप्यन्तिके तिष्ठतीति विरोधश्चमत्करोति हृदयम् ।

२४—स्वभावोक्तिः

जिह्वाभिरह नन्नमदर्चिषा जञ्जणाभवन् । अग्निर्वनेषु रोचते ॥ ऋ. ८, ४३, ८

अत्र स्फुटमग्नेः स्वभाव उपनिबद्धः प्रत्यक्षदृश्यः । एवम्—

अद्याद्या श्वःश्वः इन्द्र त्रास्व परे च नः ॥ ऋ. ८, ६१, १७

अत्र शरणार्थिनो वाणीवीणारणनमुपवर्णितम् । शरणमिच्छुरेवमेव भणति—अद्यापि श्वोपि परश्वोपि भवताहं रक्षणीय इति स्वभाव एव तस्यानाश्वासात् ।

२५—सहोक्तिः

सह वामेन न उषो व्युच्छा दुहितर्दिवः ।
सह द्युम्नेन बृहता विभावरि राया देवि दास्वती ॥ ऋ. १, ४८, १

अत्रोषस उदयो बृहता द्युम्नेन धनेन वामेन कल्याणेन च सह भवतु नान्यथेति चमत्कारजन-

नात् सहोक्तिः । एवम्—

साकं यक्ष्म प्रपत चाषेण किकिदीविना ।
साकं वातस्य ध्राज्या साकं नश्य निहाकया ॥ मा. १२, ८७

अत्र यक्ष्मरोगविनाशाय चाषादीनां साहचर्यमुक्तम् । यथा चाषो वातो निहाका वा झगित्यपैति तथा त्वं द्रुततरमपसर परतरमितरत् पदमित इति भावं प्रद्योतयितुं युक्तोऽयमलंकारः ।

२६—विनोक्तिः

यस्मादृते न सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चितश्चन ॥ ऋ. १, १८, ७
यस्मान्न ऋते विजयन्ते जनासो यं युध्यमाना अवसे हवन्ते ॥ ऋ. २, १२, ९

अत्र यमिन्द्रं विना यज्ञादीनां सिद्धिर्विपश्चितामपि न भवति तमिन्द्रमुपाध्वमित्यर्थे चमत्कसंचाराद् विनोक्तिः ।

२७—अर्थान्तरन्यासः

मा त्वा सोमस्य गल्दया सदा याचन्नहं गिरा ।
भूर्णिं मृगं न सवनेषु चुक्रुधं क ईशानं न याचिषत् ॥ ऋ. ८, १, २०

अत्र 'क ईशानं न याचिषत्' इति सामान्येन वाक्यार्थेन विशेषस्य मेधातिथिकर्तृकस्येन्द्रकर्मयाचनस्य समर्थनं क्रियत इत्यतोऽर्थान्तरन्यासः ।

२८—व्यतिरेकः

मूरा अमूर न वयं चिकित्वो महित्वमग्ने त्वमङ्ग वित्से ॥ ऋ. १०, ४, ४

अत्र वयं मूराः (मूढाः) त्वं चाऽमूर इति व्यतिरेकः ।

तद्धावतोऽन्यानत्येति तिष्ठत् ॥ मा. ४०, ४

अत्र धावतोऽन्यान् जीवानीश्वरस्तिष्ठन्नेवात्येतीति व्यतिरेकः ।

२९—अतिशयोक्तिः

यदिन्द्र यावतस्त्वमेतावदहमीशीय ।
स्तोतारमिद्दिधिषेय रदावसो न पापत्वाय रासीय ॥ ऋ. ७, ३२, १८

अत्र वसिष्ठ ऋषिरसंभाव्यमपि संभावयन्नाह—हे इन्द्र ! यदि तव तुल्यं ममैश्वर्यं स्यात्तर्हि पुण्यकारिणः स्तोतॄन् धनदानेनोपकुर्यामनार्यांश्च पापीयसो न वसु रासीयेति । इन्द्रेण समश्वर्यमसंभाव्यमपि संभावितमित्यतिशयोक्तिः ।

३०—भाविकम्

गर्भे नु नौ जनिता दम्पती कः ॥ ऋ. १०, १०, ५
इति शुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद् विचचक्षिरे ॥ मा. ४०, १०

इत्यादौ च भूतस्यार्थस्य प्रत्यक्षवर्णनादुक्त एवालंकारः ।

आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि ॥ ऋ. १०, १०, १०

अत्र भाविनोऽर्थस्य साक्षादुपवर्णनाद् भाविकम् ।

३१—दृष्टान्तः

यद्धरिणो यवमत्ति न पुष्टं पशु मन्यते ।

शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायति ॥ मा. २३, ३०

अत्र यथा हरिणः क्षेत्रिणो यवमदन् न पुष्ट इति मन्यते, किं तर्हि ? क्षेत्रिणः क्रोधनिमित्तं भवति तथा वैश्येन व्यवायमुपेता शूद्रा न धनं लब्धवतीति स्वामिना मन्यते, किं तर्हि ? व्यभिचरित-चरितेयमिति कोपनिमित्तं भवतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे द्वयोरपि वाक्यार्थयोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावस्य साधीयो घटनाद् दृष्टान्तः ।

३२—समाधिः

सन्ति कामासो हरिवो ददिष्ट्वं स्मो वयं सन्ति नो धियः ॥ ऋ. ८, २१, ६

अत्र सोभरिरित्थंभूतेन वचसेन्द्रमाह—हे हरिवः ! कामा अस्माकं सन्त्येवेति त्वं जानीषे, त्वं च तेषां कामानां ददिः प्रदाता समुपस्थित एव, वयमपीमे पुरोवर्तिनः स्मः, अस्माकं धियः कर्माणि प्रज्ञानानि वा सन्त्येव, कर्मफलं च त्वयाऽवश्यदानीयमेवेति सर्वथा साम्प्रतं त्वरितं दातव्यं त्वयेति फलप्रदानरूपे कार्ये कारणसामग्र्याः सौकर्यप्रतिपादनात् समाधिः ।

३३—तद्गुणः

न पापासो मनामहे नारायासो न जह्लवः ।

यदिन्न्विन्द्रं वृषणं सचा सुते सखायं कृणवामहै ॥ ऋ. ८, ६१, ११

अत्रेन्द्रस्य सख्यं कृत्वा पापीयांसोऽपि न पापा भवन्ति, दरिद्रा अपि राजानन्ति, जानन्ति च द्रव्यं व्ययीकर्तुमत्तुं चाप्रमत्ता इत्यर्थात् स्वगुणत्यागपूर्वकमिन्द्रगुणसंयोगात् तद्गुणः ।

३४—कारणमाला

व्रतेन दीक्षामाप्नोति दीक्षयाप्नोति दक्षिणाम् ।

दक्षिणा श्रद्धामाप्नोति श्रद्धया सत्यमाप्यते ॥ मा. १९, ३०

अत्र व्रतेन दीक्षा, दीक्षया दक्षिणा, दक्षिणया श्रद्धा, श्रद्धया च सत्यमाप्यते इत्युक्त्या पूर्वपूर्वस्योत्तरमुत्तरं प्रति हेतुत्वेनोपवर्णनात् कारणमाला ।

३५—अन्योन्यम्

भूमिं पर्जन्या जिन्वन्ति दिवं जिन्वन्त्यग्नयः ॥ ऋ. १, १६४, ५१

अत्र भूम्या दिव उपकारो दिवा च भूमेरित्यन्योन्यसम्बन्धनिबन्धनमन्योन्यमलंकारः ।

An Atharvan Hymn to Lac (Lākṣā-)

By

VISHVA BANDHU, *Hoshiarpur.*

This paper is a text-critico-exegetical commentary on AV. V, 5 (AVP. VI, 4). According to the *Anukramaṇī* (iii, 2) the hymn headed by the words: **रात्री माता** (AV. V, 5) is **लाक्षिक** (addressed to *lākṣā-*, cf. ver. 7); **आनुष्टुभ** (composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre), and **नवक** (made up of nine verses). AVP. reads this hymn as its VI, 4, in the verse-order: 1, 2, 4, 5, 3, 7, 6, 8, 9 and with two additional verses at the end. The object of this hymn is evident both from its wording and its prescription in the ritual. It is to cure external lesions and fractures of bones. The practice described in *Kauśika-Sūtra* XXVIII, 14: **लाक्षालिङ्गाभिर्दुग्धे फाण्टान् पाययति** relates to a decoction of *lākṣā-* in milk being drunk by the patient to the accompaniment of a recital of stanzas pertaining to *lākṣā-* (according to Dārila, AV. IV, 12, besides V, 5). Kes'ava prefaces this prescription by describing it as a cure for weapon-cuts: **अथ शस्त्राऽभिघाते भैषज्यमुच्यते**; while Dārila notes it as a cure for wounds in general: **अरुषो भैषज्यम्**. Kes'ava's further general remarks: **शस्त्राऽभिघाते, काष्ठाऽभिघाते, पाषाणाऽभिघाते, अग्निदाहे, सर्वशरीराऽभिघाते भैषज्यं समासम्**, being a more comprehensive indication of the efficacy of the treatment of wounds caused by a number of things besides sharp weapons.

Kauś.Sū. XIII, 3-5: **लोमानि जतुना संदिह्य जातरूपेणाऽपिधाप्य। 'सिंहे व्याघ्रे यशोहविर्' इति स्नातकसिंहव्याघ्रबस्तकृष्णवृषभराज्ञां नाभिलोमानि। दशानां शान्तवृक्षाणां शकलानि** contain prescriptions to make lustre giving amulets of (1) the hair of an elephant (2) the navel-hair of a Brahmin graduate, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a black antelope[1], a bull and a king and (3) pieces (of wood) of the

1. Bloomfield wants to read *vṛṣṇi* in place of *kṛṣṇa* basing the emendation partly on the readings *vṛṣṇa*, *vṛṣṇā* and *vṛṣṇya* found in some of his Mss. and partly on Kes'ava's gloss which speaks of *meṣanābhi-romāṇi*. He thus ignores Dārila who reads *kṛṣṇa*. Probably, Kes'ava's Ms. read *meṣa* and neither *kṛṣṇa* nor *vṛṣṇa* etc., suggestive of *vṛṣṇi*. On a reference, however, to the two hymns (AV. VI, 38 and 39) alluded to in *Kaus'-Sū.* Xiii, 4, particularly, to the first of these hymns, it is noticed that the ver. 1 refers to the lustre that is found, among others, in *siṃhá-* 'lion', *vyāghrá-* 'tiger', *pṛ́dāku-* 'panther' and *brā́hmaṇa-*, the ver. 2 to that found, among others, in *hastín-* 'elephant', *dvīpín-* 'leopard', *híraṇya-* 'gold', the ver. 3, to that found, among others, in *vṛṣabha-* 'bull' and the ver. 4, to that found, among others, in *rājanyá-*, 'king', *áś́va-* 'steed' and *púruṣasya māyú-* 'the shout of a man'. Obviously, our Sūtras have drawn upon the above specific textual allusions for prescribing for their ritualistic ends, on the one hand, gold '*híraṇya-*' and golden-hued '*híraṇyavarṇa-*' lac (cf. AV. V, 5, 6; 7) and, on the other, (mysteriously, lustrous) hair of an elephant, a Brahmin graduate '*snātaka-*' (who, in terms of the above ver. 4, may be said to be over-enthusiastic to croak out his learning like the Veda-

ten quiete trees[1] and to besmear them with *jatu-* before they are mounted in gold and worn. Kes'ava's gloss : लाक्षां हिरण्येन वेष्टयित्वा बध्नाति on this item identifies *lākṣā-* with *jatu-* which is the name of a well-known resinous exudative substance (i. e. lac). According to this thus traditionally attested indentification, AV. V, 5, which is a *lākṣika-* hymn may have to be taken as an address to our familiar *lākṣā-* (i. e. lac) and not to any unfamiliar plant of that name as taken, in the absence of Sāyaṇa's commentary or any other traditional help on this particular text, by Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. 67) and all others, namely, Grill (*Hundert Lieder*, pp. 10 ; 142), Griffith (I, 195), Bloomfield (20,419)[2], Weber (XVIII, 181) and Whitney (I, 228) who have translated it after him. As will be evident from the verse-wise translation and commentary of the hymn (AV. V, 5) that now follows, the text itself lends ample support to the above view and does not seem to contain anything that can support the other view viz., that *lākṣā-* denotes a particular herbal plant.

Verse 1.

रात्री माता नभः पिता(ता, अ)र्यमा ते पितामहः ।
सिलाची नाम वा असि सा देवानामसि स्वसा ॥

'*The night is thy mother, the day thy father, Aryamán thy grandfather ; Silācī, surely (by) name art (thou) that art the sister of the gods*'.

a. Being all red on a dark ground, *lākṣā-* is poetically described

reciting frog-Brahmins of RV. VII, 103, 1), a lion, a tiger, a bull and a king. As it is, there is no mention in these Sūtras of a steed '*ás'va-*', a panther '*pṛdāku-*' and a leopard '*dvīpín-*' that have been read in the basic hymn, and the two viz., a goat '*basta-*' and an antelope '*kṛṣṇa-*' (or a ram '*meṣa-*' according to Kes'ava) seem to have been extraneous additions. It, however, seems probable that the *Sū*. 4, had read, originally, *°*vyāghrās'vapṛdākuvṛṣabha...* which gradually on account of a process of scriptorial lapse was first written as *°*vyāghrāhvavṛvṛṣabha...* > *°*vyāghrabavṛvṛṣabha...* and, then, gradually, emended into *°*vyāghraba(sta)vṛ(ṣṇa)vṛṣabha...* in some Mss. and *°*vyāghrabastakṛ(ṣṇa)vṛṣabh...* in others. In this way, we might reinstate steed '*as'va-*' and panther '*pṛdāku-*' in the Sūtra text and explain the absence of leopard '*dvīpin-*' by its joint-comprehension with tiger '*vyāghra-*' or panther '*pṛdāku-*'. That the latter, in the present context, does not denote a snake as understood by Sāyaṇa and others and that it stands for some wild beast allied to lion '*siṃha-*' and tiger '*vyāghra-*' is further borne out by the mention of wolf '*vṛka-*' another member of the same class, in a similar context in AVP. V, 29, 6 : *siṃhe varca uta varco vyāghre vṛke varcaḥ* and, further, by its own mention along with tiger '*s'ārdūla-*' and wolf '*vṛka-*' in the same particular group of As'vamedha victims : *s'ārdūló vṛkaḥ pṛdākuste manyáve* (VS. XXIV, 33). The use elsewhere of the word *pṛdāku-* in the sense being ascribed to it here is well vouched for by classical lexicons (cf. *Medinī* : *pṛdākur vṛs'cike vyāghre sarpacitrakayoḥ pumān* and PW. for the names of other lexicons).

1. *Palās'a-* and other similar trees (cf. Dārila), probably so described because they do not bear fruit and, in consequence, do not have much attraction for humming bees and chirping birds.

2. In the light of what has been said above on the meaning of *lākṣā-* (i. e. lac and not any plant) as intended by Dārila and Kes'ava, Bloomfield's statement (p. 419) that 'the commentators agree in presenting our hymn (AV. V, 5) along with AV. IV, 12 as the stanzas characterised by the mention of the *lākṣā-* 'plant' is contrary to the facts of the case.

as having found her mother in the (dark) night (cf. AV. VII, 74, 1: अपचितां लोहिनीनां कृष्णा मातेति शुश्रुम where, for a similar reason, the night is said to have been the mother of the (dark-)red glandular inflammatory sores *apacítas* and VI, 83, 3 where *apacítas*, are said to be *rāmāyaṇyas* i. e. the offspring of the black night *rāmā-*). The *Padapāṭha* reads *nábhaḥ* between *mātā́* and *pitā́* and, accordingly, *nábhas-* has been uniformly taken as the father of *lākṣā-* and understood in the sense of the cloud. The fathers of different diseases and plants etc., have been mentioned in several other places (cf. i, 24, 3; iii, 9, 1; 23, 6; v, 4, 9; vi, 16, 1; viii, 7, 2; and xix, 39, 2 where *sárūpa-*, *dyaú-*, *uttamá-*, *vihálha-* and *jīvantá-*, have been so indicated) and all the words employed for this purpose, are quite appropriately, masculine. It seems, therefore, that the form *nábhaḥ* from *nábhas-*, which is neuter, will not be appropriate in our context. So, if the *Padapāṭha* is to be depended upon, the form *nábhaḥ* should be taken to be from **nábha-* in the masculine gender. If the black night has been appropriately stated to be the mother of the dark-grounded *lākṣā-*, the word denoting the father should possess the sense of brightness to match with the red super-hue of *lākṣā-* and, moreover, should be the name of an object that, in its turn, can be described as the son of the sun (*aryamán-*). Evidently, the cloud does not fit in within the framework of these limitations. For, the Vedic mythological imagery treats the cloud as an adversary whom the sun has to smash in the long run and never as his issue. In the parental pair which is most popular with the Vedic poets, namely, dyaú- and Pṛthiví-, the point of emphasis in respect of their so-called offsprings is merely the divinity of origin; but, in the present case, it is the colour of the offspring (viz. *lākṣā-*) that the poet aims at ascribing to the dark night (*rātrī́-*) and her bright mate i. e. **nábha-*. For this reason, also, **nábha-* does not mean the cloud here, because brightness cannot be its apt description. Moreover, Vedic mythology has nowhere united the night and the cloud as a pair. On the other hand, the night has been frequently mentioned together with the day (to indicate only a few cases, cf. AV. ii, 15, 2 [where their eternal union is mentioned along with those of *dyaú-* and *pṛthivī́-*, *sū́rya-* and *candrá-*; *bráhman-* and *kṣatrá-*, *satyá-* and *ánṛta-* and *bhūtá-* and *bhávya-*]; iv, 18, 1 [*áhnā-rātrī́ samā́vatī*]; xi, 4, 21 [where they are referred to as at par with *adyá* and *śvás*] and xv, 2, 5 [where the night figures as the hair of *vrā́tya* and the day as his turban]). They are like the two matching aspects; the one that is dark (*kṛ́ṣṇa-*) and the other that is bright (*árjuna-*) of the one united 'day' (RV. vi, 9, 1). And, then, it is said that the Lord of all created the sun and the moon to produce the day and the night (RV. x, 190, 2-3), thus giving rise to the imagery of the present case where the sun (*aryamán*) is described as the grandfather of lac (*lākṣā-*), the latter being the offspring of his offspring viz.,

the day and the night (*aho-rātrá-*). It is interesting that while *dyaú-* and *nábhas-* are synonyms in the sense of the sky, their parallel basic aspects *dyaú-* and our present postulate **nábha-* are also so in the sense of the day. In both these aspects viz. in the sense of the sky as well as the day, the primary idea seems to have been that of the sun or the light and cannot have any generic connection with the thrice repeated Pāṇinian √*nabh* (i. e. *Dhātu* i, 753 ; iv, 134 and ix, 48) in the sense of 'injure' (cf. Yāska, ii, 14, where mindful of this inconsistency, he proposes a number of other equally uncertain etymologies).

b. Metrically, *pitā́ryamá* has to be read, as indicated in the text above as five syllables.

c. *silācī́* seems to be another and probably earlier and fuller name of *lākṣā-* itself. The phonetic transformation involved might have been, on the one hand, **silākṣā́-* > **silākṣīkā́-* > **silāchī́-* > *silācī́-* and, on the other, **silākṣā́-* > **slākṣā́-* > *lākṣā-*. A still another phonetic process might have been **s(ś)ilākṣā-* > **°lākṣikā-* > **°lāṣī-* > **°lāḍ(>d)ī-*, (as read in AVP. 1, c). Similarly, the English word '*shellac*' might be an old cognate of **silākṣā́-* and not, as generally explained (cf. Wyld : *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language* s. v.), a compound of shell and lac. Etymologically, this series of words may be connected with OIA. √*sā*, √*si*, √*siv*, √*śliṣ*, *śalākā-*, *sirī́-*, *śulva-*, *sūtrā-*, *sūcī-* and NIA. √*sīḍanā*, √*sīnā*, *silanā*, *silāī-*, *silmā-*, *chīmba-*, *suranalī-*, *surapītā-* etc., all primarily relating the sense of 'binding', 'uniting', 'joining' or 'stitching'. Or, else, brightness (i.e. redness) might have been the primary significance of the ultimate base that was connected with the bases like √*bhās*, √*brasj*, √*ruc*, √*ruś* and √*śuc* with kindred meaning. It is also possible that the word may be of composite nature with *lākṣā-* as the second component and **sitá-* (in the sense of 'bright' [i. e. 'red'] or of 'binding') as the first one[1].

Verse 2.

यस्त्वा पिबति जीवति त्रायसे पुरुषं त्वम् ।
भर्त्री हि शश्वतामसि जनानां च न्यञ्चनी ॥

'*He that drinks thee, lives ; mankind thou dost preserve. For, being the binder of (their) bodies, (thou) art the healer of men with wounds*'.

b. *tvám* is to be treated here as a bi-syallabic word and as such read *tavám* and not *tuám* (as, generally done in such cases), for the NIA. *tum-* *tūṃ-* and *tū-* can be more directly derived from the former than from the latter (also, cf. Pers. *to-* and Eng. *thou-*).

c. The translation takes √*bhṛ* in *bhartrī-* in the sense of 'curing' (by the filling up [*bharaṇa-*] of the cavity caused by the wound). Possibly,

1. See, also, comment on ver. 7*c* below.

as suggested by AVP. : *dharatrī* (ms.), *dhartrī* (ed.), the original base here is **bhadra-dhrī-*, phonetically reduced, on the one hand, into **bhaḍadhrí-> *bhaltrí-> bhartrí-* and, on the other, into (**bhadaradhrí-> *hadharadhrí-> *adhara°> *dhara°>*) **dharatrī-* and *dhartrī-* and, thus, directly giving the sense of *bheṣajī-* (cure) which itself seems to be only another cognate of it. *S'áśvat-* here (as in RV. iv, 32, 13 ; viii, 20, 13 and x, 100, 11) denotes 'all' (cf. Griffith) and not 'constant' (as waveringly passed by Whitney) or 'successive' (as wanted by Bloomfield) and may be a cognate of NIA. *sarbat-* (which is probably a fuller form of OIA. *sárva-*).

d. The metre can be squared up by reading *nyáñcanī* as *ni-áñcanī*. But it does not give any appropriate sense (cf. comment on *tvám* in *b* above). The sense of 'hiding' (cf. Whitney), 'refuge' (cf. Bloomfield) or 'lap' (cf. Griffith) has hardly any connection with the context of a specific for wounds taken in, in the form of a hot decoction. AVP. reads : शश्वतां त्यन्वञ्चनीम् in place of our जनानां च न्यञ्चनी which suggests that the original reading might have been *शस्वतां *तनूबन्धनी (phonetically reducible to *तनू अन्ध [> ञ्झ > ञ्ज > ञ्च] नी) taking *śasvat-* as a separate nominal base in the sense of 'one having a wound' (i. e. √*śas* 'to kill'> **śas-* 'wound' + the possessive suffix *vat*). This word was confused in AVP. with the pronoun *s'ás'vatām* and replaced in AV. by *janánām*, apparently, when, in course of time, it had gone out of use. By accepting this reading the translation of the second half will be : 'For, the body-binder (as thou art) thou art the healer of all (that are) with a wound'. The phonetic process involved in reaching the extant readings *ca nyáñcānī* and *tynvañcanī* from **tanūbárdhanī* is admittedly long, but does realistically square up the metre as well as read a quite relevant sense where futile efforts had been made to manufacture one[1].

Verse 3.

वृक्षं वृक्षमारोहसि वृषण्यन्तीव कन्यला ।
जयन्ती प्रत्यातिष्ठन्ती स्परणी नाम वा असि ॥

'Conquering and standing fast against, thou besiegest tree after tree like a girl lusting after a mate. Sparanī (b√) name thou art, indeed.'

a. In following up the simile, it seems that the verb *ā√ruh* here may be phonetically related to *ā√rudh* 'impede', 'blockade', 'besiege' and so, may have to be differentiated from *ā√ruh* 'climb' (in which sense others, except Griffith, have taken it, presumably on account of their erroneous impression that *lākṣā-* is a tree-climbing creeper).

1. The question of the unexpectedly great and hitherto unrecognised measure in which the process of phonetic change has inevitably been at work throughout the ages in respect of the Vedic textual tradition, has been dealt with at some length in my Presidential Address to the All-India Oriental Conference (Vedic Section), Bombay (Nov. 1949), to the Proceedings of which the reader might turn for further material on this most difficult but, at the same time, fascinating subject.

b. *ā√sthā* means 'stand fast' and, so, with the preposition *prati* it means 'stand fast against', 'stick fast to'. The idea is that whichever tree *lākṣā-* appears upon, the same it thoroughly subdues and settles itself upon.

c. *spáraṇī-* in this context may mean 'a seizer', 'one that holds fast'. It seems to be a derivative from √*spaś* 'seize', 'stick' (*Dhātu*. X, 147). The derivative process can be put as *spaṣṭa-* (cf. *Pāṇ*. VII, 2, 27)> √**spṣṭav*> **spaṣṭ*> ṭh> ḍ> l>) raṇī (cf. NIA. √*phaḍ* 'seize'). It refers to the strong grip of *lākṣā-* both in respect of the trees and the wounds that it clasps fast, in one case, to settle upon and, in the other, to cure. The AVP. variant *sañjayā-* is probably derived from *sam*√*yaj* 'unite', the original word **saṃyajā-* having first changed into **sañjajā-* and, then, under the influence of *jáyantī-*, in c, re-Sanskritised into *sañjayā-*, which, if the context could be ignored, would appear to support the sense of 'winner' that Whitney gives to it[1].

Verse 4.

यद् दण्डेन यदिष्वा यद्वाऽरुर्हरसा कृतम् ।
तस्य त्वमसि निष्कृतिः सेमं निष्कृधि पूरुषम् ॥

'The wound that is caused by a rod, an arrow or a (cutting) weapon, of that thou art the binder. Do that (thou) bind (the wound of this) man.'

a. *iṣvā* is to be read as three syllables : *iṣū-ā*. Whitney's treatment of *yád* as a particle of condition and, accordingly, his rendering of it is repugnant to the natural proximity between the two correlative pronouns this (*yád-*) and (*tád-*) in *tásya*.

b. *árus-* is derivable from √*ar in the sense of 'hurt' 'injure' (cf. my Vedic Word-Concordance Vol. i, s. v.). This √**ar* is probably to be treated as a de-aspirate variant of √**har* being itself a variant of √(**gha*) *han* 'injure' 'hurt'. It is from this root that the instrument-noun *háras-* here, seems to have been derived in the sense of 'that by which a cut is made' i. e., 'a weapon' etc. *hala-* 'plough', the second member **gala* in *lāṅgala-* (**ilāṃ-gala*), **khaḍ-* in *khaḍga-*, √*kṛ* 'injure' (along with its extended forms √*kṛt* and √*kṛp* both in the sense of 'cut' and √**ghṛ* [=**ghar*] as probably in [**gharta->*] *ghāta-* 'injury') seem, etymologically, to be members of one and the same group. The employment, in the same context, of *daṇḍá-* and *íṣū-*, both instruments of injury, indicates similar connotation of haras- and makes the rendering 'violence' as advanced by Griffith and 'fire' or 'flame' as wanted by Bloomfield and Whitney, improbable. The latter, however, may plausibly be said to be supported by the inclusion of *agnidāha-* in Kes'ava's list of injuries that are curable by *lākṣā-*.

1. Bloomfield's commentary suggests connection of *spáraṇī-* with √*sphāy* 'expand' but his as well as Griffith's translation presupposes its connection with √*spṛ* 'save', 'rescue.'

c. The verb *niṣ√kṛ* 'bind', 'unite', 'join' in *niṣkṛti-* here as well as in 6 c and *d* and, also, in the form *niṣkṛdhi* in *d* here, it seems, has to be differentiated from the verb *niṣ√kṛ* 'expel', 'drive out' as found used, for instance, in RV. X, 97, 9 in finite as well as derivative forms. The need of making this distinction is rendered evident by a comparison of the two contexts. Thus, in RV. a prayer is addressed to *óṣadhayas* (herbs) to expel (from the body of the patient the disease) that troubles (him). The description, in the next verse, of herbs entering (the body of the patient) to drive out from there all ailment (ओषधीः प्राचुच्यवुर्यत् किं च तन्वो रपः) and the indication of the disappearance of *yákṣma-* in the following three verses (11-13) can further be adduced in support of this rendering and, consequently, in refutation of Sāyaṇa's interpretation: (पुरुषो) यद् यदि आमयति व्याधितो भवति (तं) निष्कृथ संस्कुरुथ under which he treats *yád* as a conjunctive particle and not as a pronominal object, directly governed by the verb *níṣkṛtha* and, apparently, referred to again by the aforesaid generic *yát kiñ ca* in the next verse. But in Pāda *d* of our present verse, the prayer addressed to *lākṣā-*, can evidently be to 'close up' the wound of the patient and not to 'drive out' the patient himself. Etymologically, *níṣ-* in our verb may have to be derived from √*ant* 'bind' (*Dhātu.* I, 61) and be connected with OIA. *ánti-*, *antiká-*, *antiṣad-*, *nikaṭa-*, *nikaṣā*, **néda-* (as in *nédīyas-* and *nédiṣṭha-*); NIA. *neḍ-*; Pers. *nazda-*, *nazdīka-*, Lat. √*nectere*, *nexus*; Eng. *next*, *near*, *nigh*, *neighbour* etc., all possessing the sense of nearness based on 'joining' or 'junction'. The corresponding half-verse in AVP. reads: तस्य त्वमसि भेषजी निष्कृतिर्नाम वा असि. Probably, the original word *niṣkṛtir* in c and dropped off under scriptorial illusion owing to the presence of the same word at the beginning of *d* and the gap was filled up by the supply of the word *bheṣajī-* in the sense of 'cure', 'remedy'. This should have taken place at a much later time when *niṣkṛti-* of the present context had ceased to be understood in its above postulated relevant sense of 'binder' and got mixed up with the other *níṣkṛti-* in the sense (as in RV.) of 'expeller' (of disease ⌊and, therefore, i. e. 'cure', 'remedy'⌋). Or, possibly, *bheṣajī-* itself of this context may be a different word in the sense of 'binder', being, etymologically, cognative with OIA. (√**bhid* 'join' >) *bheda-* (as in *sambheda-*), (√*mil* 'join'>) *mela-*, √*mikṣ* 'mingle', *miśra-*, piṇḍa-; NIA. √*bheḍ*, *bhīḍ*, *mīḷ* 'join', 'close', '*bheli*' (= piṇḍa-) ; Eng. √*meet*, √*mix*, √*fit*, √*fix*, *fast*, *paste* etc.

Verse 5.

भद्रात् प्लक्षान्निस्तिष्ठस्यश्वत्थात् खदिराद् धवात् ।
भद्रान्न्यग्रोधात् पर्णात् सा न एह्यरुन्धति ॥

'(Thou) standest fast on Bhadra, Plakṣa, Aśvattha, Khadira, Dhava, Bhadra? Nyagrodha, (and) Parṇa. That (thou), O wound-closer, come to us'.

a. The translation implies basic sameness of the preposition *níṣ* in the

verb *niṣ√ṣṭhā* with *níṣ* in *niṣ√kṛ* and *níṣkṛti-* in our verses 4 and 6, *niṣkṛtá-* 'meeting place', 'fixed place' or 'settled abode' (e. g., RV. I, 2, 6; 123, 9 etc.) and *ní* in *niṣṭhā-*, *niketa-* and *nivāsa-*. This composite verb is uniformly used in the sense of 'standing fast' or 'having a strong hold' and governs the object thus occupied in the locative case (cf. e. g., RV. I, 182, 7; III, 31, 10; IX, 110, 9; AV. XIV, 2, 62; XIX, 32, 3; 34, 6). Out of the eight tree-names mentioned in this verse, AVP. clearly reads five in the locative case. The sixth, namely, *plakṣa-* which is now met with in the instrumental case needs restoration to the locative case by correcting the present mis-reading **प्लक्षेग तिष्ठसि** to **प्लक्षे निस्तिष्ठसि**. Obviously, our *bhadrát* etc., cannot fit in if they are taken as the ablative forms (as they, of course, look like), but they get on all right when construed as ending in the secondary suffix **āti*(p) in the locative sense (cf. *Pāṇ.* V, 3, 34). The relationship between the two recensional sets of readings here is thus brought within the scope of phonetic rather than textual variation and may be shown as, for instance, *plakṣát* (>d> dh> jh> j> y)> **plakṣái*> *plakṣe* (= AVP.). The AVP. reading *bhadrā* in *a* and *c* represents a case of arrested transformation and, as such, has been wrongly translated by others as an adjective in the sense of 'blest' (Griffith and Whitney) or 'noble' (Bloomfield).

c. The unwanted repetition *bhadrát* seems to be causing a very important omission namely, that of the *bádara-* tree which is a very important resort of *lākṣā-* (i. e. lac). The reading **bádarāt* in place of *bhadrát*, a quite evident emendation as it is, will not only remove this omission but also correct the Pāda metrically (for, otherwise, *nyagródhāt* shall have to be read as *niagrodhāt*).

d. *arundhatī-* seems to be an epithet (cf. AV. VIII, 7, 6) and not another name of *lākṣā-*. Probably, it is to be derived from *ā√ruh(dh)* 'close up', 'bind' and the derivative process may be shown as **āroha-(ṃ>)n- da (dhi >) dhī-* > **aruhandhatī-* > **arvandhatī-* > *arundhatī*. This meaning of the epithet is in consonance with the description, in the ver. 3, of *lākṣā-* as 'clasping tree after tree' and its employment in AV. IV, 12, 1 in relation to another name of *lākṣā-* i. e. *róhaṇī-* which itself is connected with the same aforesaid root, namely, *√ruh(dh)*. This adjectival base is to be distinguished from the substantive base *arundhatī-* which denotes a febrifugal and milk-increasing herb (cf. AV. VI, 59, 1-3) and, etymologically, might be derived as **aroga(ṃ>)n-da(dhī->) dhī->* **arondadhī->* *arundhatī-*. The description of *lākṣā-* as tree-climbing plant or as a product derived from the *arundhatī-* plant (cf. Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic-Index* s.v. *arundhatī-*) is obviously based on the confusion between the substantive *arundhatī-* and the adjective *arundhatī-* and on taking *ā√ruh* in our ver. 3 in

the sense of 'climbing'[1].

Verse 6.

हिरण्यवर्णे सुभगे सूर्यवर्णे वपुष्टमे ।
रुतं गच्छासि निष्कृते निष्कृतिर्नाम वा असि ॥

'*O gold-coloured, very lustrous, sun-coloured (one) with most brilliant form, mayst (thou), Binder, close up the wound; (for) Binder (by) name (thou) art, indeed*'.

a. AVP. reads *hiraṇyabāhu* for °*varṇe*. It seems that its original reading (* °*bhātā* ->) * °*bhāte* has (through phonetic * °*bādh*(> *h*)*e* and, then, scriptorial °*bāho*) been (again, phonetically) reduced into °*bāhū* (ed. °*hu*).

c. *rutá*- may be connected with **ruṭá*- derivable from √*ruṭ* (being a fuller form of √*ru* ⌊*Dhātu.* I, 984⌋) 'injure', 'strike' (i.e. *pratighāta*- cf. *Dhātu.* I, 748). Whitney takes it in the sense of 'call' apparently, deriving it from √*ru* 'sound' (*Dhātu.* II, 24). AVP. reads *ṛtaṃ* which might originally have been **hṛtáṃ* (<√**hṛ* 'injure', 'hurt', cf. note on *háras*- in ver. 4 above), for which our *rutáṃ* (<**hrutáṃ*) may be only a dialectical variation (cf. the Mahārāṣṭra pronunciation of *ṛ* as *ru* against *ra* or *ri* in North India). *gacchāsi*, as translated above, is to be related to OIA. roots *gaḍ*-, *gaṇḍ*-, *grath*-, *granth*-, *gras*- and *grah*-; NIA. *gaṭh*-, *gaḍh*; Eng. *clasp*-, *clutch*-, *grasp*-, *grip*-, *grapple*-, all in the sense of 'binding', 'closing up' or 'joining'. The subjunctive form from √*grath*, (i.e., **gratsāsi*) seems to have been phonetically reduced into (**gracchāsi*>) *gacchāsi*.

Verse 7.

हिरण्यवर्णे सुभगे शुष्मे लोमशवक्षणे ।
अपामसि स्वसा लाक्षे वातो हात्मा बभूव ते ॥

'*O Lākṣā, that (art) gold-holder, sewer, gluer (and possesser of) binding wax-paste; (thou) art the sister of the waters; the wind, verily, became thy solidifier.*'

a. **várṇa*- here seems to be different from '*várṇa*-' 'brilliance' and is a phonetic variant of **bhárṇa*- from √*bhṛ* 'hold', pointing to the employment of lac in moulds and pads used for fixing the shape of gold

1. Here just a notice may as well be taken of the epithet *óṣadhi*- as applied in AV. IV, 12, 5 to *róhaṇī*- (i.e. *lākṣā*-). It seems that in this context, it is used in the sense of 'remedy' in general (cf. the epithet *viśvabheṣajī*- for it in AVP. VI, 4, 11) and does not denote, necessarily, any herb or plant. The process of phonetic convergence is responsible for a number of meanings in the case of this word (cf. lexicons) exactly as it is so in that of other innumerable words and, so, it is each separate context alone that can primarily help in determining which particular meaning is wanted there and, thereby, also direct etymological quest on the right track (cf. Yāska's dictum *arthanityaḥ parīkṣeta* ⌊II, 1⌋).

ornaments. The AVP. variant *yuvate* (<*yuvatā*-) for our *subhage* (<**subhagā*-) points to the common origin of both words, along different phonetic paths, from * *syūma(dha*>*)dhā*-(<√*siv* 'sew'), thus separating it from *subhágā*- 'lovely', 'fortunate' etc. (being the sense in which it has been taken by others).

b. * *śuṣm(á*>*)á*- as understood in our translation 'gluer', has been taken as a phonetic reduction from (√ * *śluṣ* [= *śliṣ* cf. NIA. *sureś* 'glue'; Lat. *glūs*- 'glue'; Germ. √*schlieszen* 'shut', *schlusz*- shutting, *anschlusz*- 'joining', *stücken* 'stick', 'patch'; Eng. √*solder*, √*shut*, √*close*]>) * *śluṣmá*-. It is thus differentiated, as required by the context, from the adjective * *śuṣmá*- as understood by others (in the sense of 'odorous' [Griffith], 'fiery' [Bloomfield] or 'vehement' [Whitney], seemingly, intended to be derived from either √*śuṣ* 'dry' or √*śvas* 'breath'). *lomaśá-vakṣaṇā*- is rendered as 'hairy-bodied', 'with hairy stem' and 'hairy bellied' by Griffith, Bloomfield and Whitney, respectively, of course, consistently with their conception of *lākṣā*- as a plant which, as already indicated, seems to be based on only confusion of texts. The adjective *lomaśá*- is derived, in our translation, from √*rabh* '*bind*' and equated to (**rabhmá*- 'rope'>) **rabhmaśa*- 'ropy', Eng. *rope*- itself may be ultimately connected with √ **rubh* 'bind' which, as reduced to √ * *ruh*, is found used in connection with *róhaṇī*- (i. e. a synonym of *lākṣā*- and to √ **rup* in the causative √*ropi* 'bind', (i. e. 'heal' or 'cure'). *vakṣaṇā*- is taken as a substantive in the sense of 'wax-paste', being derived from √*vakṣ* 'join', 'unite' (*Dhatu*. I, 664, i. e., *saṅghāta* -). Apparently, it is a homonym, which is used elsewhere in the sense of 'river' (cf. *Nighaṇṭu* I, 13), 'side' (cf. RV. I, 32, 1, etc.) and 'growth' (cf. RV. I, 114, 7; V, 55, 3; V, 8, 7 and VI, 17, 4). Our other translators seem to have drawn upon the last two of these meanings, which, of course, are not relevant to the present context. The words '*viscid*', '*viscin*', '*viscous*', '*viscum*' and '*wax*' as well as *vakṣaṇā*- may have to be traced, ultimately, to a common root in the sense of 'binding', 'sticking' and not 'flowing' as Walde-Pokorny suggest, including even *virus* in the same group of words [cf. I, 243 f, and 313 f.]).

c. *lākṣā*- at the time of its exudation is in the form of viscous honey-like drops and is, therefore, appropriately described as 'the sister of the waters' i. e. as pertaining to the sphere of liquids. The word is not found used elsewhere in the present hymn or in AV. IV, 12, which is also said to be dedicated to *lākṣā*- (cf. op.cit. Dārila on *Kauś.Sū* XXVIII, 14). So, in the midst of a series of synonyms and epithets, it is difficult to determine, on the basis of Vedic evidence alone, that *lākṣā*- itself is not an epithet. But AVP. by its concluding prayer (VI, 4, 11): *lākṣā(ya sic.)tvā viśvabheṣajīr (sic. jī) devebhistrāyatāṃ saha* finally settles this matter in favour of *lākṣā*- being the object of description and glorification here. The word itself might have primarily

meant either 'the bright one', 'the red one' or 'the binding one', 'the sticking one' and, derived, in the one case, from √*las* (*Dhātu.* I, 913) 'glow' (> **lāṣá-* ⌊ i.e. abstract noun ⌋ > **lāṣas* ⌊ *a* > ⌋ *á-* > * *lāṣsá-* > *lākṣá-*), or, in the other, from √*lag* (*Dhātu.* I, 787) 'stick' (> * *lāgá-* ⌊ i.e. abstract noun ⌋ > **lāga-ss* ⌊ *a* > ⌋ *á-* > **lagsá-* > *lākṣā-*).

d. The exposure of 'the sister of the waters' to air causes its encrustment. This seems to be referred to by the description of *vātá-* as its *ātmán-* (solidifier). This rendering of *ātmán-* implies its being a phonetic reduction from (√*badh* 'bind' ⌊ *Dhātu.* I, 998, ⌋ >) **bādhmán-* > * *bhādmán-* > * *ha* (> *ā*) *d* (> *t*) *mán-* and, thus, being distinct from the two other phonetic convergents, the one found in AV. V, 9, 7 in the sense of 'body', 'trunk' and the other in RV. X, 16, 3 in the sense of 'breath' (contrast, Griffith and Whitney rendering the present *ātmán-* by 'soul' and Bloomfield by 'breath', thus confusing it with its aforesaid homonymic occurrence in RV.).

Verse 8.

सिलाची नाम कानीनोऽजबभ्रु पिता तव ।
अश्वो यमस्य यः श्यावस्तस्य हास्नास्युत्तिता ॥

'And, O brown (one), stone-born śilājit, (by) name, is thy father; Yama's horse, that (is) dark, by him, indeed, art (thou) borne in mouth'.

a, *b*. On account of the tawny-brown colour of lac, bitumen (*śilājit-*), which is also of similar colour, is referred to here as its father. The reading *silācī nāma* seems, phonetically, to be equivalent to * *śilājit* (>*n*) *náma*, and, *kānīnáḥ* to *(*pā* [> *phā* > *hā* > *ā* > *a* > X] *ṣā* >) *kā*(*ṇī* >) *nīnaḥ* (i. e. * *pāṣāṇa- jana-* [also, cf. Kāśmīrī *kᵃñ-* 'stone' plu. *kani-*]). The AVP. reading *ghṛtācī nāma* (phonetically, to be equated to **ghṛtājit* [>*n*] *nāma*) suggests synonymic (which, ultimately, may be phonetic) equation between *śilā-* and * *ghṛtā-*(> * *girtā-* > **giṭṭ* [*ḍḍ*] *ā-* > * *gī* [*l* >] *rā-* > * *girā-*, being the substantive base of *giri-* ⌊ cf. NIA. *gir-*, *girī kil-* 'stone' of fruit and *kir-* or *kirā-* in *kirāṇā-* , a hillock of that name near Sargodha in Panjab). As further suggested by AVP. *atbabhrū*, our *ájababhru* consists of two words, the conjunctive particle *átha* and the vocative form (*babhrú-* >) *babhru*. Thus, the whole half-verse makes one simple sentence and need not be made into two sentences as others have done. *silācí* of this verse is, as shown above, different from *silācí* (i. e. AVP. *śilādī* [not *ghṛtācī* as here]) of ver. 1. The father, alone, of lac is mentioned here and, hence, *silācí* (which as a feminine word cannot fit in) as equated to * *śilājít-* accords well with the adjective *kānīnáḥ*. Finally, the disappearance of the compound word *ájababhru*, as such, clears up the interpretation of the passage, leaving no room for bringing in the ideas of 'goat' (*ája-*) as others seem to have been forced to labour at.

c, *d*. Lac does not grow out, like an ordinary plant, from the earth, nor, like a parasitic plant, from a tree. All the same, it is found settled upon a number of 'host plants'. Whence does it come ? Our second half-verse solves this mystery by tracing it to the mouth of the dark horse of Yama. Mss. of *Padapāṭha* differ in reading *āsná* (in the mouth) and *asnā́* (in the blood) in this verse as well as in the following one. As clear from the description in the next verse, *āsná*, alone, can be the correct reading, for, then, the fall of lac could easily take place as soon as the horse opened its mouth. There is no question of its having fallen from the blood of the horse. √*ukṣ* in *uksitá-* is to be equated with √*vah* 'carry' or 'bear', for, it is the mysterious appearance itself of lac that is in question and is intended to be explained. Therefore, it is wrong to connect *ukṣitá* (as others have done) with √*ukṣ* 'sprinkle'.

Verse 9.

अश्वस्यास्नः संपतिता सा वृक्षाँ अभि सिष्यदे ।
सरा पतत्रिणी भूत्वा सा न एह्यरुन्धति ॥

'That (lākṣā) fell from the mouth of the horse (and) dropped (right) towards the trees (as if, when) fallen, (it) had become a bird. That (thou), O, Wound-binder, (do) come to us'.

b, *c*. The translation implies the emendation of *siṣyade* into (√*srans* 'fall' >) *srasyata* (past imperfect), for it is the dropping of lac from the upper region (where Yama and his horse dwell) that is being described here. *S'uṣyata* of AVP. may be said to be somewhat nearer to the original postulate than our reading. *abhí* is adnominal preposition in the sense of 'direction' and not an adverbial one as others have taken it. How is it that in falling from the high heaven, it drops straight in the direction of the trees and does not fall on the flat ground below? The poet imagines towards satisfying himself in this matter that it had, for the time being, turned into a bird and, therefore, it was but natural that it should light upon the trees (which provide abode to birds). *sarā́-* is reduced, phonetically, from * *srastá-* (> * *srathā́-*)> *sa (th > d [cf. AVP.] > ḍ >) rā́- and is an adjective and not a substantive (in the sense of 'brook' [from √*sṛ* 'move'] as others have understood it to be). On the other hand, *patatríṇī-* ('bird') is a substantive and not an adjective (in the sense of 'winged' as others have taken it). The poetic (supernatural) imagery inspired by the mysterious appearance and growth of lac on a number of trees starts in verse 8 *c* and is completed in verse 9 *c*, leaving out the prayer in 9 *d* as a general conclusion. It seems that AVP. had really read the past tense i. e. **āsīḥ* and not the present tense i. e. *asi* as found at present, thus supporting the aforesaid syntactical construction of our c with the absolutive *bhūtvā́* in place of the finite past form of AVP. It is hardly necessary to add that the fulfilment of the concluding prayer in 9 *d* had no mystery about it and was easy

of achievement because the trees playing host to lac were quite familiar and near at hand and, so, could not have impelled the poet to go in search of a special figure of speech for its purpose. The variation between *vṛkṣā́n* and *bhūtvā́* of our text and *parṇam* (sic. *ān*) and *asi* (*sic. āsīḥ*) of AVP., respectively, is, apparently, not of phonetic origin, and stands, along with other numerous similar cases, in need of further much deeper study towards determination of the relationship between the two recensions.

Verse 10 (AVP. only)

घृताचके वामरते विद्युत्पर्णे अरुन्धति ।
याऽऽतुरं गमिष्टाऽसि त्वम् अङ्गं निष्करीयासि ॥

'*O (that art) bitumen-like, (that art) wound-healer, (that hast) brilliance of lightning (and, that art) wound-binder, as (soon as thou) shalt go to the patient, surely, shalt thou heal (him)*'.

a, b. The translation implies restoration of *ghṛtācake* to *(* ghṛtācit-* [cf. note on verse 8 *a*] > * *ghṛtācit-k[a* >] *ā-* >*)* **ghṛtācitke*, of *vāmarate* to *(√varh* ['injure', 'wound'] > **varhman-* * *vahhman-* > * *vāhman-* > * *vāman-* > *) vām-* (√*rādh* ['mature', 'heal'] > **rādh* (*a*>) *ā-* >) *rādhe*, and of *vidyutparṇe* to * *vidyud-varṇe*. (cf. *sūryvarṇe* in verse 6).

c. The restoration of the Pāda to *yad āturaṃ gamiṣyasi* assumes two scriptorial aberrations, namely, * *yadāturaṃ* > *yāturaṃ* and *gamiṣyasi* > *gamiṣṭhāsi* (as clearly observable in Nāgarī *गमिष्यसि> [*गमिष्टासि>] °ष्ठासि) and, metrically, squares it up.

d. * *niṣkariṣyasi* seems to have phonetically changed into *(* °risjasi>* * °rijj° > * °rīj° > °rīy°*)*.

Verse 11 (AVP. only)

यत्ते जग्रधं पिशाचैस्तत् ताह्याप्यायतां पुनः ।
लाक्षाय त्वा विश्वभेषजीर् देवेभिस्त्रायतां सह ॥

'*(O patient), what of thee is seized by the Demons, that (same) may now become perfect again; along with the Gods, may lākṣā, the pleni-cure, save thee*'.

a, b. The text as received needs restoration (as implied in the translation) of *jagradhaṃ* to *(√gṛdh* >*)* **jagṛdhe* (i. e. past passive perfect 3d pers. sing.) and of *tārhi* (obviously, a mere slip) to *tarhi*.

c. The syllable *ya* in *lākshāya* is unwanted metrically as well as grammatically. The plu. *viśvahbhesajīr*, being an epithet of *lākṣā-* needs correction to sing. °*jī*.

SECTION III

Other Literary Studies

ʟ note on lākṣā in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā

By

P. ACHARYA, *Mayurbhanj.*

Rājas'ekhara was well acquainted with the details of geography of ia. In the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, one chapter XVII, called *Des'avibhāga* or divisions of the country, describes the names of countries, mountains, rs and products. He has divided India into five parts, namely, *Pūrvadeśa*, (2) *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, (3) *Paśchāddeśa*, (4) *Uttarāpatha* and *Madhyadeśa*. Within the *Pūrvadeśa* which is the part lying east of ıres, he has mentioned the names of 16 countries where the products ed *lāvaḷi*, *granthiparṇakā*, *aguru*, *drākṣā* and *kastūrikā* are found. Again he description of *Uttarāpatha* he has mentioned 21 countries in which *ṣā* also finds mention as a product of the countries. The countries er *Pūrvadeśa* are identified with the modern provinces of Bihar, Bengal Eastern Central Provinces excluding Nepal. In this part of Eastern a, nowhere *drākṣā* or grape is grown wild or cultivated; but in *Uttarāpatha* comprising modern Punjab, N. W. F. Provinces and hmir, *drākṣā* is grown and cultivated. So, there is no doubt that *ṣa* in Eastern India is a mistake for *lākṣā* or *rākṣā*, the red-dye vhich a famous cosmetic of Indian ladies is prepared. Due to the ake of copyists, Rājas'ekhara's text of *lākṣā* was current as *drākṣā* ch has been printed in the book published in the Gaekwad Oriental es, Vol. 1. I am of opinion that Rājas'ekhara's original text was *ā* or *alakta* which is well known cosmetic of the ladies of India ı now-a-days. The history of lac has been elaborately written by tt in the *Dictionary of the Commercial products of India* (pp. 1053-56). son and Jobson also contains quotations from Western writers under word Lac. In the Periplus (80 A. D.), the lac-dye is mentioned conveyed from India to Aduli on the African coast of the Red (Watt p. 1054). Watt's following note fully supports Rājas'ekhara's ment on the area where lac is grown : 'Lac is met with practically ughout the warm tropical areas of the whole of India, but most ıdantly in Central Provinces, Bengal (which then included the Bihar the Orissa Provinces), Assam and Burma'.

Puranic Basis of the Bengal Smarta Vratas

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI, *Dacca.*

Of the various topics dealt with in the *Smṛti* digests of Bengal, *vrata* figures very prominently and engages the attention of two of the foremost *Smṛti* writers of this province. S'ūlapāṇi and his renowned successor Raghunandana wrote separate treatises dealing with *vratas*, viz., the *Vrata-kāla-viveka*[1] and the *Vrata-tattva*[2], respectively. The earlier writer, Jīmūtavāhana in his *Kāla-viveka*[3], which concerns itself with the determination of proper time for various religious acts, incidently refers to *vratas*. Before going into the details of these *Smṛti-vratas*, we shall consider those described in the *Purāṇas* and shall see how the latter formed the basis of the former.

The *Purāṇas* contain a rich store-house of numerous *vratas* in the sense of rules of conduct to be observed by one with an object in view, fasting being the essential element of these rules. It is our object here to present, in a nutshell, the broad rites and customs connected with these *vratas* and also to make out a picture of their social background. They admit of two broad classifications, viz., (1) purificatory or expiatory, and (2) devotional. The first variety is resorted to by people in order to atone for sins committed by them, e. g., *Cāndrāyaṇa*, *Prājāpatya* etc. The devotional *vratas* are observed by people for attaining a definite object, e. g., the birth of a son, acquisition of wealth etc. The physical parts of *vratas* are fasting, living on things obtained without asking etc. The subjective elements are non-violence, truth, continence, etc. From the objective standpoint, *vratas* can be divided into :— (1) active, and (2) passive. In the former, one has to take particular kinds of food and worship certain deities. In the passive *vratas*, one has merely to practise abstinence by resorting to fast, etc. There can yet be a third classification of *vratas* into (1) *nitya*, (2) *naimittika*, and (3) *kāmya*. Of these the non-observance of the first variety makes a man sinful, e. g., *Ekādaśī-vrata*. The second is practised only on special occasions, e. g., *Cāndrāyaṇa*, observed for washing off sins. The *kāmya*, is the outcome of some *kāma* or desire. In other words, *kāmya vratas* are those which are observed in particular *tithis* with a definite object in view, e. g., *Sāvitrī-vrata*, performed for the husband's welfare.

1. Ed. S. C. Banerji, IHQ. Dec., 1941.
2. Included in the *Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. II, Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1845.
3. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1905.

On the previous day one undertaking a *vrata* has to practise abstinence and restraint both in one's food and personal habits. On the proper day he has to fast and then eat, on the following day, a very simple diet, strictly avoiding wine, meat, salt, oil, etc. Some *vratas* require a person to take sacred cowdung and cow's urine for internal purification. In observing certain *vratas* one has to live upon food obtained without asking (अयाचिताशी). The rule of fasting is relaxed in the case of ; (1) a young maiden, (2) a pregnant woman, (3) a woman just delivered of a child and (4) a diseased woman. They can take their meals by night. Of the rules of conduct, the most important, besides fasting, is honouring and feeding the Brāhmaṇas and liberally making gifts to them. On the *vrata* day, abstinence from sexual intercourse is binding. Silence (मौन) is generally recommended, talking to a heretic or non-believer (पाषण्ड) being particularly prohibited. Listening to the recital of *Purāṇas* and also to the story of the origin and efficacy of *vratas* (व्रतकथा) and keeping awake at night by means of vocal and instrumental music are some of the rules to be observed on that day.

No *vrata* can be regarded as complete without gifts to Brāhmaṇas. Of those worthy of receiving gifts, the preceptor is the most competent person. The qualifications of other Brāhmaṇas to whom gifts can be made are as follows :— (1) having a large family to maintain, (2) being versed in the Vedas and other kinds of learning, (3) being a surviving widow, (4) being devoted to S'iva or Viṣṇu (in particular *vratas* only), (5) possessing self-restraint and (6) being full-limbed. Among the gifts gold ranks the highest, being given as images of certain deities, flowers, chariots, fish, horses, lions and trees etc. In most of the *vratas* the gift of cows or bulls forms an essential part of the ceremony. Other metals, such as silver, copper, etc., may also be given in certain cases, especially when the giver is rather poor. Besides these specific gifts, all the articles of worship in a *vrata* are to be made over to Brāhmaṇas. Daily necessaries like salt, paddy, sugar, clothes, blankets, beds, fan, umbrella, footwear, etc., are also to be given to them. That the Brāhmaṇas made these *vratas* an instrument for earning their livelihood seems evident from such injunctions as make the comparatively richer people give away land or sometimes even a whole village to them in order to ensure the full benefit of *vratas*. The gift of a well-furnished house (सर्वोपकरणयुक्त-गृह) is supposed to confer great merit on the givers. In making gifts one is strongly and repeatedly warned against 'deceitful economy' (वित्तशाठ्य) i. e., spending less money than what one can, for it leads to hell. The gifts should be carried to the house of the recepient at the cost of donors.

Viṣṇu, in his various incarnations, and S'iva figure as the most prominent deities to be worshipped in *vratas*. Cupid with his consort is also frequently worshipped, mostly, for attaining physical beauty etc.

It is not infrequent to notice the dual gods Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī or S'iva and Umā receiving worship simultaneously. S'iva as Rudra is also some times propitiated. In certain *vratas* the images of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and of Earth are worshipped. Among all the deities, found in the *Purāṇas* to be associated with *vratas*, it is only natural that the sectarian deities S'iva and Viṣṇu should occupy the foremost position. Brahmā, also, is not overlooked. His cosmic egg (*Brahmāṇḍa*) is found to be worshipped in certain *vratas*.

The majority of the *vratas* are supposed to produce tangible results. Their performer is endowed with a beautiful form, gets immense fortune, subdues the enemy, and is rendered free from all earthly maladies including various diseases. The sonless gets a son, the widow becomes happy, the poor become the masters of immense fortune, and the wife can ensure the welfare of her husband, and one separated from one's near and dear relations can be re-united with them. In short, all conceivable temporal bliss can be attained. Being free from all sins, a performer of *vratas* is saved from re-births. *Bhukti* or earthly enjoyment and *Mukti* or final emancipation are associated with the performance of various *vratas*. The names of certain *vratas* themselves are designed to indicate the results obtainable by performing them, e. g., *Aśūnya-śayana*. *Kalyāṇa-saptamī*, *Pati-saubhāgya-vardhana*, *Viśoka-saptamī*, *Vibhūti-dvādaśī and S'ubha-saptamī.*

Both men and women are entitled to perform *vratas* though those for men are comparatively limited in number. In the case of women who are impure or otherwise incapable, a substitute is allowed. The vicarious performance of religious acts is indeed a noteworthy feature of the Hindu ritual. While in the Vedic sacrifices the yajamāna has to play a part along with his *patnī* (so called owing to her participation in sacrifices), in the *Purāṇic vratas* a man or woman can independently perform them though some are to be performed by a couple. Though in the Post-Vedic period women are, as a rule, debarred from religious acts in general, yet the *vratas* seem to be primarily intended for them. They can perform them in all stages of their lives whether they are unmarried, married or widowed.

The above description presupposes a society in which the Brāhmaṇas were in need of the means of subsistance and engaged themselves in consolidating their supremacy by appealing to the religious sentiment of the general public, mostly, of the women. The composition of most of the *Purāṇas* spread over a period falling between the first and the tenth centuries of the Christian era[1]. This is a chequered period of Indian history, which saw the rise of rival dynasties and foreign invasions. The history of the Brāhmaṇical religion during this time is one of continual struggle for existence against rival and alien religious movements trying to stamp it out. Though suffering many reverses, it never died

1. See R. C. Hazra : *Studies in Purāṇic Records*, etc.

out but was considerably stifled. There was, no doubt, a Brāhmaṇical revival in the reign of Gupta kings but it could not gain a firm footing. It got a severe blow soon after the decline of the Guptas and with the rise of the Hunas. These facts presumably led the Brāhmaṇas to devise means for attaining supremacy, the *vrata* having been probably one of these effective means. The *vrata*-rules served as a bulwark for the Brāhmaṇas against the rival faiths and contributed to the social and economic uplift of the Brāhmaṇas. The first thing that strikes us is the rule of gifts. That the gifts should be made exclusively to the Brāhmaṇas shows that they are to be regarded as the best persons in society and, so, worthy of receiving donation. Among the Brāhmaṇas, again, are to be preferred those who have a large family to maintain and are devoted to Vedic studies. The articles of gift such as salt, sugar, etc. distinctly betray the worldly condition of the priestly class for whom it was difficult or almost impossible even to earn the barest means of subsistence. The gift of gold and other precious metals or of land and house means nothing but a contribution to the material welfare of the Brāhmaṇas.

It is significant that of the persons entitled to observe *vratas*, women are given the most prominent position, their usual disabilities, viz., impurity, pregnency, etc. notwithstanding. It is particularly noticeable that these are the special privileges enjoyed by women only in *vratas*, whereas the very fact of their being women is an obstacle to their participation in religious observances in general. The object of allowing these privileges to them seems to be manifold from the social point of view. In the first place, the Brāhmaṇas had to guard against the conversion of women to asceticism by Buddhists and Jains, which was steadily causing a disintegration of society and creating, among the people, a sense of aversion to the second stage of life, viz., *Gārhasthya*. For this reason it was necessary to devise means of attracting women to family life. It may be observed that the objects and results of many of the *vratas* are agreeable to feminine sentiment. The mind of the average woman will naturally be attracted to such religious deities as would render her husband or son free from all maladies, make them happy and long-lived and will enable her to remain ever by her husband's side. Thus, in a way, the *vratas* seem to have been a means of keeping woman within the fold of family life by holding out assurances of a happy existence here and hereafter. Hence the Brāhmaṇas seemed to have tried to make their propaganda of Brāhmaṇical regeneration largely through women. It deserves notice that in their zeal of popularising the *vratas* the Brāhmaṇas withdrew their ban even on the prostitutes who had, strictly speaking, no caste and were branded as 'fallen', and who were generally regarded to have no future. In the *Purāṇas* we find that prostitutes are allowed to participate in *vratas* and even Veda-knowing

Brāhmaṇas have not the slightest hesitation in accepting any kind of gifts from their hands.

The facts that women were given, for the first time in the *Purāṇas*, the greatest liberty in observing *vratas*, that the gifts to Brāhmaṇas are nowhere so numerous and varied as in the *Purāṇas*, and that the rites and customs of *vratas* are rather peculiar, may be taken together to show that the rules of *vratas* were framed more for improving the social and economic status of the Brāhmaṇas and for tightening their grip on the society than for any purely religious motive. Even though the rules of abstinence and continence encouraged morality and good behaviour, the system of *vrata* tended towards mendacious religiosity rather than true religion. These rules, unlike those of the earlier Vedic religion, were never the spontaneous outcome of human feelings but the artificial working of a class to consolidate its supremacy.

We shall now consider the *vratas* mentioned in the *Smṛti Nibandhas* of Bengal and see how far they have been influenced by *Purāṇic vratas*. The *Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana deals with the proper times of various religious ceremonies including *vratas*. The *Vrata-kāla-viveka* and the *Vrata-tattva* of S'ūlapāṇi and Raghunandana, respectively, contain general rules, the former dealing with the time and the latter concerning itself with the actual procedure of the *vratas*. The *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of S'ūlapāṇi and the *Prāyaścitta-tattva* of Raghunandana contains means of atoning for the non-observance or irregular observance of the *vratas* undertaken and deal with the purificatory *vratas* at length.

Of the above writers, only S'ūlapāṇi attempts a precise definition of the term '*vrata*'. According to him, the vow is not the only thing about *vrata* though it constitutes the essential element, the accessories being the observance of certain attendant duties. His description *dīrgha-kālānupālanīya* may be interpreted in two ways, e.g. (1) for a long period at a stretch, and (2) repeatedly every year at the appointed time and thus for many years. The first interpretation does not seem to be intended sense, because in that case *vratas* of short duration, such as *Ekādaśī*, would have been excluded. In support of 'vow' being the essential element of *vratas* S'ūlapāṇi quotes Manu (II. 3) according to whom besides *vratas*, yajñas and other religious acts arise from a particular vow undertaken by the person practising them.

Jīmūtavāhana, on the authority of the *Purāṇas*, holds the following ten to be the common obligations or duties involved in *vratas* in general :— (1) forbearance, (2) truth, (3) kindness, (4) charity, (5) purity, (6) restraint of senses, (7) worship of deities, (8) pouring oblations into fire, (9) contentment and (10) honesty. S'ūlapāṇi, quoting Gotama,

imposes the following duties on the person observing a *vrata* :— (1) kindness to all creatures, (2) forbearance, (3) absence of spite, (4) purity, (5) rest, (6) practice of beneficial acts, (7) avoidance of miserliness and (8) absence of greed.

One taking a vow but abandoning it through folly or ignorance is relegated to the position of a Caṇḍāla while alive and becomes a beast when dead. The atonement prescribed for such a sinner is that besides shaving the head he is to undergo a long fast. After all this he is again to perform the *vrata* abandoned by him. The *S'āstras*, however, excuse a sinner whose abandonment of the vow is due to circumstances beyond his control, e. g., disease, order of the preceptor, etc. But repeated abandonments of the vow, even on the above grounds plunge a man into sin which requires to be duly expiated. The passages prescribing atonement for non-continuance of *vratas*, once undertaken, are taken mostly from the *Purāṇas*.

Though impurity consequent upon the birth and death of one's relatives constitutes an obstacle to the performance of all religious rites, yet it does not become a bar if the ceremony of *vrata*, as also of *yajña* and *vivāha*, has already been commenced. In anticipation of the enquiry as to when precisely the ceremony of *vrata* etc., may be said to begin, it is said that the rite, technically known as *saṅkalpa*, marks the commencement in such cases.

Though fasting is binding on one undertaking the *vrata*, yet the rule is relaxed in the case of those who cannot stand the strain. Such persons can take the following things without incurring any sin for breaking the fast :— (1) water, (2) roots, (3), fruits, (4) milk, (5) ghee or oblation (*havis*), (6) any thing at the desire or request of a Brāhmaṇa (*Brāhmaṇa-kāmyā*), (7) any thing with the permission of one's Guru (*Guru-vacanam*) and (8) medicine (*auṣadham*). It is also ordained that one who is unable to fast does not commit any sin by eating at night. There is the rule of vicarious performance of *vratas* in the case of certain persons, e. g. a woman in the family way, etc. When one appoints a substitute for performing one's *vrata*, one has to do personally the physical acts of fasting, etc.

Among things and practices to be strictly avoided on the day of *vrata*, the following deserve mention :— (1) talking to the apostate, the heretic and the atheist, (2) untruth, (3) utterance of indecent things, (4) talk, touch and sight of low-born people residing outside the village, of a woman just delivered of a child, of a degraded woman, and also of a woman in her impurity, (5) rubbing oil on the body or on the head, (6) taking betel leaves, (7) using unguent, (8) cleansing the teeth, (9) day-sleep, (10) playing at dice and (11) sexual intercourse.

On the authority of Manu[1] it has been held that a married woman has no right to performance of sacrifices and *vratas*, and that in her case the service of the husband is the greatest meritorious act which may lead her to heaven.

The above account of *vratas*, as given in the *Smṛti-Nibandhas* of Bengal, shows how the conception of *vratas* is, to a great extent, *Purāṇic*, and also how they are substantially derived from the *Purāṇas* with slight modifications which might have been necessitated by the changing circumstances of a progressive society. Women still figure prominently in connection with *vratas*, most of the rules applying to them alone. The verse, quoted from Manu, laying down that women have no religious rites to perform — not even *vratas* — excepting the service of the husband is an injunction presumably of the pre-*Purāṇic* age when women were, as a rule, kept in the background so far as religious observances were concerned. In order to fit this rule with the *Purāṇic* conception of *vratas*, S'ūlapāṇi makes this injunction imply that women can observe *vratas* only with the permission of their husbands. No such difficulty arose during the time of the *Purāṇas* which had to ignore totally all texts restraining the rights of women to participate in religious acts. To combat heterodox religious cults and movements successfully it was perhaps necessary to allow such freedom to women, to whom even greater freedom was allowed by the Buddhists. The *Nibandhas* as descendants and derivatives of the *Dharmaśāstras*, could neither shake off the above injunction of Manu nor could they do away with the *Purāṇic vratas*, which had taken deep root in the Indian mind. It is perhaps for these reasons that these latter works had to make a compromise between the rules of *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Purāṇas*.

As regards gifts in connection with *vratas*, the *Nibandhas* of Bengal mention them in a general way. The numerous and varied gifts of the *Purāṇas* are absent in the *Smṛti* digests a fact which probably demonstrates that by this time Brāhmaṇical supremacy was well established and that the Brāhmaṇas were held in high esteem. The frantic cravings of the *Purāṇic* Brāhmaṇas for popular support are naturally not found in these late works.

1. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग् यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषणम्। पतिं शुश्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ (V. 155)

The Devotional Element in Raghunandana's Works

By

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA, *Bhatpara (Bengal).*

No critical study of Raghunandana, the great Bengal digest-writer of the 16th century, has, as yet, been made. Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti appended in 1915 to his big paper, entitled, 'Studies in the history of *Smṛti* in Bengal and Mithila[1], a comprehensive list of the works and authors, *Smṛtic* and astrological, quoted in the works of Raghunandana, along with their page-numbers in the Serampore edition of Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva.* Unwarranted remarks about Raghunandana have been made by various scholars from time to time in their works. Dr. S. K. De[2] has described the work of Raghunandana as great but narrowly conservative and his prescriptions as amounting to social tyranny, while Dr. Enam-ul Haque[3] has attributed the liberalness of Raghunandana's views to the influence of Sufi-ism. Time is now ripe for making a critical study of Raghunandana's works by a process of analysis and identification, as most of the digests, composed in eastern and other parts of India in the four centuries just preceding Raghunandana and immensely incorporated by him in his works, have been published during the last five decades. Though Prof. P. V. Kane[4] and Dr. S. K. De[5] have occasionally repeated the fact of particular digest-writers having been quoted by Raghunandana from the above-mentioned list of Chakravarti, yet, far from identifying the quotations, they have nowhere even mentioned the fact of the *Bhagavad-gītā* or the *S'rīmad-bhāgavata* having been quoted by Raghunandana. But the truth is that these two devotional works have profusely been quoted by Raghunandana and that the identification of these numerous quotations can alone prove that like his great contemporary, Caitanya, Raghunandana was also influenced by the sentiment of devotion but did not get greater scope for its ramification than what was absolutely necessary for establishing the fact that neither do Raghunandana's prescriptions amount to social tyranny nor is their liberalness attributable to the influence of Muhammadan Sufi-ism.

The *Bhagavad-gītā* has been quoted not less than nine times in four works of Raghunandana, viz. *Tithi-tattva*, *Āhnika-tattva*, *Malamāsa-tattva* and *S'uddhi-tattva*. The quotations are from the chapters 2nd., 3rd., 5th., 9th., 11th., 17th. and 18th. Those from the 2nd. and 11th chapters consist of a

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. XI, pp. 311-406.
2. *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal* (1942), p. 22.
3. *Vange Sūfi Prabhāva* (in Bengali, 1944), p. 185.
4. *History of Dharmas'āstra,* Vol. I (1930).
5. *History of Bengal,* Vol. I (1943), chap. on Sanskrit Literature.

half verse in both the cases, those from the 3rd., the 5th. and the 9th. consist of a full verse in each case, while those from the 17th. and the 18th. consist of four and three verses, respectively[1].

The *S'rīmad-bhāgavata* is a big work of 12 Skandhas, the Skandhas again being subdivided into many chapters, ranging from 10 to 90. It has been quoted not less than 21 times in four works of Raghunandana, viz. *Tithi-tattva*, *Malamāsa-tattva*, *Ekādaśī-tattva* and *S'uddhi-tattva*. The quotations are from the following Skandhas of the *S'rīmad-bhāgavata* only viz. 1st., 5th., 6th., 7th., 8th., 10th. and 11th. In five out of these twenty-one quotations, Raghunandana has also quoted the corresponding portions of the commentary of S'ridharasvāmin, along with the original texts of the *S'rīmad-bhāgavata*. Ten quotations are from the 1st., 5th., 6th., 7th., 8th. and 10th Skandhas, while the remaining eleven quotations are from the various chapters of the 11th. Skandha only[2].

1. The purport of the quotations from the 2nd. to the 11th. chapters is encouragement to perform acts without any desire and to surrender the result of actions to God and to go on fighting and killing enemies, who have already been killed by God. The purport of the four consecutive verses, quoted from the 17th. chapter, is the extollation of the efficacy of the use of the words, viz. *om*; *tat* and *sat*, in the beginning of various religious acts. The purport of the three consecutive verses, quoted from the 18th chapter, is the description of the three kinds of agents, viz., *sattvika, rajasa* and *tamasa*. That person, who is free from the desire of result, devoid of pride, full of patience and energy and unmoved by the success or failure of actions, is called the *sattvika* agent. That person, who is an orator (or 'attached to the world', according to the reading in the *Bhagavad-gīta*), desirous of the result of actions, avaricious, aggressive, impure and full of joy and sorrow, according to occasion, is called the *rajasa* agent. That person, who is heedless, thoughtless, haughty, wicked, detractor of the merits of others, lazy, dejected and procrastinating, is called the *tamasa* agent.

2. The first quotation from Skandha I is regarding the procedure to be adopted in the recital of the glorified stories of gods, while the second one from the same is Nārada's prediction to Yudhiṣṭhira, regarding Gāndhārī's burning herself to death in the same funeral pyre with her husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The quotation from Skandha V is regarding the prohibition of sacrificing and eating even male animals. The first quotation from Skandha VI is to the effect that a learned person should not direct a fool to the performance of actions with an end in view, just as a good physician does not prescribe unwholesome diet to a patient, hankering after the same. The second quotation from Skandha VI is concerning the partaking of the food, dedicated to God, for the purification of the self and for the fulfilment of all the desires of a woman, performing the *puṁsavana* vow. The first quotation from Skandha VII is to the effect that hearing, recital, remembering, service, worship and glorification of, surrender of the fruits of work to, faith in and dedication of one's own self to, Viṣṇu by a person constitute *bhakti* (devotion) in its nine aspects. The second quotation from the same Skandha is to the effect that neither Brahmanhood nor godliness nor saintliness, neither good conduct nor experience nor gift, neither penance nor sacrifice nor cleanliness nor vow is sufficient for the satisfaction of God who is pleased by spotless devotion and the faith that everything else is trash. The quotation from Skandha VIII is to the effect that one should worship God Kes'ava with unguents, flowers and similar other things and with the

formula of twelve syllables, and if possessed of wealth, one should offer *s'ali* rice, cooked with milk and along with ghee and jaggery, and perform sacrifice to fire with the original formula and then either offer the dedicated food to a votary of the God or partake of it oneself. The first quotation from Skandha X is to the effect that the cowherd girls, partaking of the *haviṣya* diet, perform the vow of the worship of Kātyāyanī and Raghunandana has quoted this to establish the vow – character of the worship of Goddess Durgā, on the analogy of the Kātyāyanī worship. The second quotation from the same Skandha is to the effect that they (the citizens and the villagers) bowed down to him (i. e. Kṛṣṇa) with their hands, folded on their heads, and Raghunandana has quoted this to establish that the touch of the head with folded hands is a form of obeisance.

The eleven quotations from Skandha XI are rather lengthy and of a highly devotional character. The first of these quotations is from the 3rd. chapter and purports that he, who is free from desires and practises in accordance with the prescriptions of the Vedas for delivering the result to God, attains success, not connected with actions. The allurement of results is simply to create interest in the actions. Raghunandana has quoted just after the above quotation from the 3rd. chapter, four verses from the 21st. chapter and the purport of these verses, which are allied to the above quotation, is given below :-

Such allurement of good results is not the desideratum of men but is resorted to simply to make actions agreeable to them. It has been spoken of as the desideratum to create desire for salvation, just as a medicine is made palatable to the patient by allurement of sweets. The mortals become naturally attached to objects of desire, life and kinsmen, which are the causes of their evil. How can the Vedas encourage persons, who believe in the benevolent aspect of the teaching of the former, for the entertainment of those very desires, following which and being ignorant of their own welfare, persons roam about in paths of desire and then enter into lower states of existence in future births ? Some, persons, with deficient intelligence and without realising the real import of the Vedas call the apparently pleasant result as the ultimate end but persons, versed in the Vedas, do not say so.

The quotation from the 5th. chapter is to the following effect :—

'Just hear what worship is to be offered in accordanre with various formulas in the Kali age. O You, the great being and supporter of the humble, I worship Your lotus-feet, which clear away the insults, fulfil the desires, are as holy as places of pilgrimage are praised by S'iva and Viriñci (i. e. Brahman) and are fit to be resorted to by other also, destroy the affliction of every servant (i. e. devotee) and help one to cross over the ocean of the world. O You, the great being and pious one, I worship Your lotus-feet, which went to the forest to carry out the behest of Your superior (i. e. father Das'aratha), bidding adieu to the fortune of kingdom, not fit to be easily forsaken and longed for even by gods, and which ran after the illusory deer, hankered after by Your beloved (i. e. Sītā). Thus, Your Majesty, is Lord Hari, the most powerful of the desired objects, worshipped by men in the different ages in accordance with the name and the appearance, appropriate to the particular age'. Raghunandana then quotes one half-verse and one full verse from the 27th. chapter of the same Skandha, just along with the above lengthier quotation from the 6th. chapter. The purport of the present quotation is to the following effect :—

After having worshipped in the above manner, one should bow down like a stick with the words 'May it please Your Lordship' and after placing one's head and two hands just against His feet in due order, say, 'O Lord ! just save me, who

Appendix A[1]

The identification of the *Bhagavad-gītā* quotations :—

1. Tithi-tattva.

1. pp. 175-6 : भगवद्गीतायाम् 'तस्माद्ोमिति......ब्रह्मवादिनाम्' (XVII, 24).

2. Āhnika-tattva.

1. p. 350 : भगवद्गीतायाम् 'मुक्तसङ्गो......उच्यते' (XVIII, 26).
2. p. 350 : अत एवोक्तम् 'मा कर्म......ऽस्त्वकर्मणि' (II, 47).
3. p. 350 : 'वाग्मी.........उच्यते' (XVIII, 27-28, reads रागी for वाग्मी).

3. Malamāsa-tattva.

1. p. 820 : गीतायाम् 'मयैवैते......सव्यसाचिन्' (XI, 33) इतिवत्.
2. p. 837 : भगवद्गीताऽपि 'युक्तः......निबध्यते' (V, 12).
3. p. 837 : तथा......भगवद्वाक्यम् 'मयि......विगतज्वरः' (III, 30).
4. p. 837 : व्यक्तमाह स एव 'यत्......मदर्पणम्' (IX, 27).

am frightened and have resorted to You, from the ocean of the fear of death'.

.The quotations from the 6th., 11th., 14th. and 27th. chapters are rather smaller in length than the above ones and consist of one or two verses in each case. The purport of these quotations is reproduced here one after another :—

'Being decorated with the garland, unguent, clothes and ornaments enjoyed by You and having partaken of the remnants of Your food, we, Your servants, shall verily win through the illusion of this world'. 'One should neither dedicate to Me things, dedicated to other gods, nor perform other acts in the light consecrated to Me. One should dedicate to Me, whatever is the most desirable in the world and the most pleasing to one's own self. This dedication conduces to eternal results.'

S'rīdharasvāmin in his commentary on the above text, adds several verses, quoted from elsewhere, two of which have been quoted by Raghunandana and the purport of these two verses is to the following effect :—

'Unperturbable is he who has the figure of Hari in his heart, the name of Hari on his lips, the sweets and fruits, dedicated to Hari, in his stomach and the feet-washing water and the garland of Hari on his head'.

'The Fathers of that person who offers to Hari, the supreme God, the remnants of the things dedicated to the Fathers, become sufferers inasmuch as they are the progenitors of that very person'.

'How can there be devotion without horripilation, soft heart and tears of joy and how can the mind be purified without devotion ? A person, who is full of devotion to Me, whose words are faltering, whose heart has become soft, who weeps piteously and laughs occasionally and who sings and dances without feeling abashed, purifies the whole world.'

'O Uddhava ! there are no invocation and immersion in the worship of an immovable image, while they are to be performed optionally in that of a movable one and, necessarily, in that of images, made of sand and clay.'

1. The references to Raghunandana's works listed here *et sequel* are taken from *Smṛti-tattva* Vols., I and II (Jivānanda ed., Calcutta, 1895).

4. *Śuddhi-tattva.*

1. p. 397 : भगवद्गीता 'ओम्.........पार्थ युज्यते' (XVII, 23-26).

Appendix B.

The identification of the S'rīmad-bhāgavata quotations :—

1. *Tithi-tattva.*

1. pp. 67-8 : दुर्गापूजाया व्रतत्वं व्यक्तं श्रीभागवते 'चेरुर्.........व्रतम्' (X, 22, 1).
2. p. 71 : 'नारायणं.........जयमुदीरयेत्', भागवते तु......साक्षाल्लिखितम् (I, 2, 4). with com.
3. p. 90 : 'ये त्विह.........पिबन्ति' इति श्रीभागवतपञ्चमस्कन्धगद्येन (V, 26, 31).

2. *Malamāsa-tattva.*

1. pp. 837-8 : एकादशस्कन्धे 'वेदोक्तमेव...फलश्रुतिः' रुच्युत्पादनार्था (XI, 3, 46). with com.
2. pp. 838-9 : अत्रैव 'फलश्रुतिः......वदन्ति हि' तथा न वदन्तीति (XI, 21, 23-26). with com.
3. p. 839 : षष्ठस्कन्धे 'सूर्यं......भिषक्तमः' राति ददाति (VI, 9, 50) with com.

3. *Ekādaśī-tattva.*

1. p. 63 : एकादशस्कन्धेऽपि 'उद्दामा...द्वयम्' (XI, 27, 13-14).
2. p. 63 : तथा च भागवते 'नालं विडम्बनम्' (VII, 7, 51-52).
3. p. 64 : भक्तिश्च नवधा 'श्रवणं...नव लक्षणा' (VII, 5, 23-24).
4. p. 64 : तथा 'कथं विना...भुवनं पुनाति' (XI, 14, 23-24).
5. p. 71 : श्रीभागवते 'यद्यदिष्टतमं...कल्प्यते' (XI, 11, 41).

6-7 p. 75 : श्रीभागवते 'नानातन्त्रविधानेन...मृत्युभयार्णवाद् इति भगवद्वाक्यम्' (XI, 5, 31-35; 27, 45-46).

8. p. 76 : 'कैर्धृताञ्जलिभिर्नेमुः' इति भागवतीयात् (X, 86, 23).
9. p. 82 : 'यत्तु पितृ...भागिनः' इति भागवतोक्तम् (XI, 11, 40-41).
10. pp. 82-3 : भागवते 'त्वयोपभुक्तः...जयेम हि (XI, 6, 46).
11. p. 83 : तथा 'हृदि...सोऽच्युत' (XI, 11, 40-41).
12. p. 83 : तस्यैव षष्ठस्कन्धीयपयोव्रते 'उद्वास्य...समृद्धये' (VI, 19, 20).
13. p. 83 : अष्टमस्कन्धेऽपि 'गन्ध...स्वयम्' (VIII, 16, 39-41).
14. p. 83 : 'अपि दीपावलोकं...निवेदितम्' इति श्रीभागवतीयञ्च (XI, 11, 40).

4. *Śuddhi-tattva.*

1. p. 242 : श्रीभागवते तदुक्तम् 'दह्यमाने...अनुवेक्ष्यति' (I, 13, 58).

The Art of Stealing in Bengali Folk-lore

By

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, *Nadia (Bengal).*

The art of stealing was included in the old Indian list of sixty-four arts which cultured people had to acquire[1]. Princes had their training in this art as in other branches of learning[2]. The art is stated to be of divine origin, Kārtikeya being regarded as the originator. It is, of course, not known when this general of the gods came to be associated with this art. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* he is connected with infants and infantile diseases[3]. He is called *Dhūrta* or deceitful in the *Pariśiṣṭa* XX of the *Atharvaveda* where a ritual called the *Skanda-yāga* or *Dhūrta-kalpa* is described. The art came to be associated at least in later days in Bengal with the goddess Kālī. Dacoits and such other miscreants are often described as worshipping this goddess before starting on their evil errands. Indra in the *Dharmamaṅgala* story is even stated to have learnt this black art from the goddess[4]. A particular day in the week, Tuesday, is supposed to be specially auspicious for pactising this art[5].

Works on the art of stealing were written in Sanskrit of which at least two have come down — the *Ṣaṇmukha-kalpa* and the *Caura-caryā* — manuscripts of which exist in the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Mūladeva or Karṇī-suta[6] is stated to be the first propounder of the science and a work on the subject attributed to him is referred to in the *S'ilappadikāram* of the Tamil Sangam period[7]. Even as early as the time of Patañjali, special mention is made of the skill of thieves in stealing collyrium from one's eyes and the skill of cut-throats in drinking blood from running persons[8].

Quite a good number of stories are current in the folk-literature of Bengal illustrating the efficacy of the art of stealing, which, according

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII. 857.
2. *Das'akumāracarita*, Kale's edition, p. 22.
3. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII. 312.
4. D. C. Sen : *Glympses of Bengal life*, p. 14.
5. व्यायामशस्त्रव्यसनानि चौर्यं कुर्याद्दिने भूमिसुतस्य सर्वम् ।
6. M. Bloomfield : *The character and adventures of Mūladeva* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. L11, 616-50.
7. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar : *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 76.
8. *Mahābhāṣya*, Kielhorne, II, 419.

to a popular proverb, is a great art, if and so long it is not detected. The stories carried from mouth to mouth are generally met with in works on juvenile literature. But there is evidence that they may be traced to older tradition. Pṛthvīcandra in his *Gaurīmaṅgala* (composed in 1213 Bang S. = 1806 A. D.) gives a list of well-known works in Bengali in his time. This list includes a story of *Coracakravartī*. A work embodying the story which appears to have enjoyed some popularity has been published in several editions in the Mussalman style in which the leaves are arranged from right to left. Another version of the story, probably the prototype of the printed version, exists in manuscript form in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta. Though the date of the work cannot be ascertained, it seems to represent a type with some antiquity behind it. So a brief summary of its contents will be helpful in forming an idea of the nature of thief-lore current in Bengal and little known outside it[1]. The aim of the work appears to be to help people to be on guard against the tricks of cheats and thieves. In fact, it is definitely stated at the outset that readers of this interesting story will become smart and intelligent.

A son of a big royal officer mastered various sciences including the science of stealing and became known as Coracakravartī or Master Thief. The thieves of Campāvatī got panicky through the repressions of the officers of the King and approached Coracakravartī who made a resolve to teach the King a lesson by his reprisals into his city. But he would not go stealthily. So, he informed the King of his resolve. He worshipped goddess Kālī, started early in the morning and reached the imperial town in the guise of a mendicant. He made friends with a *māli* (gardener) and in the guise of a merchant made cheats of one after another, a milk-maid, a barber and a weaver on successive days. He also regularly robbed the citizens of their wealth by breaking open into their houses. But all this did not satisfy him. He was eager to commit a theft in the royal palace. Assured of her help by Kālī, he entered the palace and through his magic every one fell into deep sleep. Then he carried the queen off to the house of an ordinary labourer, put her on his bed and brought the latter's wife in turn to be placed on the royal bed.

Next time Coracakravartī made up his mind to do mischief to the Superintendent of Police. He entered his house in the guise of a merchant and introduced himself as the son-in-law of the Superintendent who had been long away. One day he declared that the Superintendent was put under arrest by the King and it was time for him to run

1. There is no reference to these stories in the elaborate paper of Prof. Bloomfielp, on *The art of stealing in Hindu Fiction*, published in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. 44, pp. 97-133, 193-229.

away with his father-in-law's family to a safe distance to avoid further troubles. And this he did.

The King became non-plussed, being unable, by any means, to catch hold of the thief. He engaged one Kalādhara for the purpose. Being chased by the latter, Coracakravartī came to a washerman who was washing clothes. The washerman was advised to dip into the pond near by as the men of the King were stated to be coming to catch hold of him. The washerman acted up to the advice and the thief took up the former's position and became busy washing clothes. Eventually, the washerman was captured and brought to the King to be identified as an innocent man. In the meantime, the thief ran away with his clothes.

In the night the thief went to the house of Kalādhara and offered to him what he declared to be some presents from the King. As Kalādhara stretched forth his hand to receive them, the thief chopped off his hand with a chopper he had brought with him. With the portion of the hand chopped off, he went to the royal palace and in an attempt to break into the royal chamber, he first pushed through the hole, he made for the purpose, the mutilated hand to see if any one was awake in the room. The King was standing near the hole and dealt a sever blow with his dagger. The thief left off the hand and went away. Eventually, Kalādhara was arrested as a result of the identification of the hand. When Kalādhara was sentenced to death, the thief was really sorry for him, and came up to the King and stated how he was actuated by the motive of demonstrating the inefficiency of the Superintendent. He also made over all the things he had stolen so far. The King and all the citizens were pleased. The King gave his daughter in marriage to the thief. On returning to his own land, the thief gave presents to Brahmins as well as all the local thieves. His advice to the latter was that they might commit thefts in houses other than those of Brahmins, Vaiṣṇavas and charitably disposed persons.

The Śānta Rasa in the Nāṭya-śāstra and the Daśa-rūpaka

By

S. K. DE, *Dacca.*

It is extremely doubtful if the *śānta* as *rasa* is at all accepted by Bharata, for the genuineness of the portion of the text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, in which the mention of *śānta* as a *rasa* occurs, is certainly not beyond question.

In all the four editions of Bharata's work (Grosset, Kāvya-mālā, Kāshī and Gaekwad), the enumeration of only eight *rasas*, excluding the ninth *śānta,* occurs at the outset of ch. VI; and elaborate treatment of these eight *rasas*, with their corresponding *sthāyins*, *vibhāvas* etc., their colour and diety, follows. It is only in the Gaekwad edition that the text on *śānta* occurs at the end of ch. VI., and speaks of *śānta* as the ninth *rasa.* This additional text on *śānta* is commented upon by Abhinavagupta and appears to have been known to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. Abhinava makes an elaborate attempt to meet the objections against *śānta* and establish it as a *rasa.* He gives instances of Bharata's awareness of *śānta*, but his arguments are based not upon Bharata's mention of it, but upon his silence, and are meant to explain why Bharata does not expressly speak of it as a *rasa.*

In spite of the importance of *śānta,* to which so much attention is devoted, the insertion of the *śānta* text at the end of the chapter on *rasas* is in itself suspicious, even if this may not be put forward as a conclusive argument. Abhinava himself, however, admits that this is the reading, not of all, but of those who read that there are nine *rasas* (*ye punar nava rasā iti paṭhanti tanmate*), implying that the *rasas* are generally counted as eight, but some recensions add a ninth. Elsewhere, commenting upon Bharata's enumeration of eight *rasas* and their correspoding *sthāyins* (p. 267), Abhinava remarks that the opponents of *śānta* read eight (*śāntāpalāpinas tvaṣṭāviti paṭhanti*), and that some read *vismaya-śamāḥ* (in the text of *sthāyin*) for *vismayaś ceti.*

On the other hand, Abhinava adduces passages, like *kvacic chamaḥ*, which indicate that Bharata had some knowledge of *śama* or *śānta*; but it is also clear that the instances quoted only show Bharata's recognition of *śānta* as an element, and they do not mean Bharata's acceptance of *śānta* as a *rasa. śama* is not mentioned by him as one of the forty-nine *bhāvas*. Abhinava himself draws attention to the fact that Bharata's definition of the drama emphasises that it is *krīḍanaka-prakhya* and *vinoda-janana*, and should, therefore, depict worldly matters; from

this point of view *s'ānta* is *apradhāna*, and not the leading motif. Again, Bharata gives *laya*, *svara*, *guṇa*, *alaṅkāra*, *vṛtti* etc. of the eight *rasas* only, in several sections of his work; but *s'ānta* is not mentioned in this connexion. He gives also musical *jātyaṅgas* suggestive of several *rasas*, but here also *s'ānta* is not mentioned (ch. XXIX. 1-4). Abhinava notes that those who admit *s'ānta* read *svaccha* as its colour, and the *Buddha* as its deity. But Dhanika states distinctly that Bharata did not characterise S'*ānta* as a *rasa* by mentioning its *vibhāvas* etc. As a matter of fact, except what is stated in the interpolated text on the *s'ānta* at the end of ch. VI, Bharata does not mention the aspects of *s'ānta* and its attendant conditions.

A further argument may be added. Regarding the admission of *s'ānta* there has been no uniformity of opinion, while its *sthāyi-bhāva* has been enumerated divergently. Abhinava refers to various views which show that all are not agreed that *s'ama* is its *sthāyin*. Among different *sthāyins* proposed, we have *sarva-cittavṛtti-praśama*, *samyag-jñāna*, *nirveda*, *nirviśeṣa-cittavṛtti*, *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya-sukha*, *dhṛti*, *utsāha*, *jugupsā*, *rati*, any of the remaining *sthāyins*, or all the eight *sthāyins* together! The non-admission of *s'ānta* and the positing of various kinds of *sthāyin* for it perhaps indicate that Bharata, whose authority is highly respected, could not have definitely promulgated *s'ānta rasa* or its *sthāyin*; and the divergence arose from the absence of his express authority in this matter. It is noteworthy that Abhinava (*Locana*, ed. NSP. p. 176) remarks that it is Bharata's non-mention of the *sthāyin* of *s'ānta* which leads Ānanda-vardhana to formulate *tṛṣṇā-kṣaya* as its *sthāyin*.

The objections against *s'ānta* are thus summarised, but not discussed, by the *Daśa-rūpaka*: (1) Some say that there is no *s'ānta rasa*, because Bharata has not mentioned its *vibhāva* etc. and therefore has not characterised it, as he has done in the case of other *rasas*; (2) Some entirely deny its *de facto* existence (*vastutas tasyābhāvaṃ varṇayanti*); because, in their opinion, men are eternally incapable of exterminating *rāga* and *dveṣa* (*anādi-kāla-pravāhāyāta-rāga-dveṣayor ucchettum aśakyatvāt*); (3) Some would include *s'ānta rasa* in *vīra* and *bībhatsa*, apparently taking *utsāha* and *jugupsā* as its *sthāyin*, respectively; (4) The real nature of *s'ama*, which is the total absence of all feeling and activity, involves a state of inaction (*samasta-vyāpāra-vilaya-rūpa*), which cannot be represented on the stage; the development of *s'ānta*, therefore, is inadmissible in the drama (*puṣṭir naitasya nāṭyeṣu*). The *Nāgānanda*, which is regarded by some as a *s'ānta* play, is plainly not so; because (a) the end here is not *s'ama*, but lordship over the Vidyādharas, and (b) the attachment to Malayavatī being antagonistic to the feeling of non-attachment essential in *s'ānta*, both cannot inhere in the same *ālambana*, namely, Jīmūtavāhana; the conclusion, therefore, is that the *vīra* (i. e. *dayā-vīra*) and *s'ṛṅgāra* are the *rasas* in this play.

Dhanañjaya himself would object to *s'ānta* only in the Nāṭya, which requires the delineation of the *rasa* through its *anubhāvas* etc.; but he would permit it in the Kāvya, because what cannot be acted can at least be described. But his commentator Dhanika would not allow *s'ānta* even in poetry. There can be, in his opinion, no such *sthāyi-bhāva* as *s'ama* or *nirveda*; for the development of that state (if it is possible at all to destroy all feelings of love or hatred), would tend to the absence of all feeling and action. Such a state is the very negation (as in the *neti-vāda* of the *Upaniṣads*) of the possibility of affirming anything about it; and any description of it would be an inadequate description in worldly terms of what is unworldly. Dhanika would regard Jīmūtavāhana as an *udātta* and not as a *śānta nāyaka*. To the objection that Jīmūtavāhana is depicted not as a conquering hero (*jigīṣu*), but as devoid of such a mental state, he replies that *audāttya*, as an excelling eminence of the mind, is not lacking in Jīmūtavāhana. *jigīṣutā* or heroism need not be only of one variety of warlike attainment; one may conquer self and excel in *dayā*, *dharma*, or *tyāga*. Jīmūtavāhana may not be a *yuddha-vīra*, but he is a *dayā-vīra*. Here the main *rasa* being *vīra* and not *s'ānta*, he is certainly an *udātta nāyaka*; and *s'ṛṅgāra* being not incompatible with *vīra*, the episode of Malayavatī is justifiable. Vis'vanātha also takes Jīmū-tavāhana to be a *dayā-vīra*; but very ingeniously he attempts to establish that *s'ānta* can be a *rasa* because in that state the soul is about to be emancipated (*yukta-viyukta-daśā*) and is not completely detached, so that the presence of feeling and activity would not be incompatible; while *sukha* is not entirely absent, what is absent is the worldly *sukha*. The attainment of *s'ama* does not imply cessation from all activity.

The objections to the *s'ānta rasa* are, therefore, not all valid. A *s'ānta* play is bound to appeal to persons of devout mind, just in the same way as *s'ṛgṅāra* and *vīra* plays appeal to men of a different attitude. It is bound to be uncommon; but that does not disprove that it is capable of being depicted and relished, while it is not true to say that men are eternally slaves to *rāga* and *dveṣa*. There has been a continuous stream of literature which depicts *s'ānta* as a *rasa*. The non-mention by Bharata is at best a technical and trifling objection. The objection that *s'ānta* can be easily included in *vīra* and *bībhatsa* is misconceived. The *s'ānta* may involve *utsāha* or energy, for spiritual attainment is not without effort; but the two terms are not co-extensive. There may be *dayā-utsāha*, *dharma-utsāha* and so forth, but *s'ānta* comprehends many kinds of *utsāha*, and is much more than mere *utsāha*. The *dayā-vīra* and *dharma-vīra* are, as Abhinava points out, really, two aspects of *s'ānta*, which covers a much wider field. The *s'ānta* includes *dayā* and *dharma* but is not included or exhausted by them. In the same way, *jugupsā* may be an accessory of *s'ānta*, but *s'ānta* is not entirely *jugupsātmaka*.

The Legend of Sītā in the Kūrma-purāṇa

By

P. - E. DUMONT, *Baltimore.*

It seems that the wonderful chastity of Sītā, who had lived for a long time in the palace of Rāvaṇa, and the doubts of the subjects of Rāma concerning her innocence were a matter in which the audience of the Sūtas, who recited the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was particularly interested; for it is the theme of an important part of the seventh book (which is, as we know, a later addition to the *Rāmāyaṇa*), and it is also the subject of a part of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, and the subject of a part of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita.*

In the thirty-fourth chapter of the second part of the *Kūrma-purāṇa* there is a passage concerning Sītā and her wonderful virtue. Considered from the aesthetic point of view, this passage does not perhaps appear a very happy invention, but it is interesting because it tells us a story which is not to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and gives a strange but original explanation of the perfect purity of Sītā. This passage has never been translated. According to the author of the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, the Sītā who lived with Rāvaṇa in his palace and sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, was not the real Sītā but a false image of her. When Rāvaṇa, disguised as an ascetic, came to the hermitage where Sītā was living in the forest, with the intention of ravishing her, she guessed his evil purpose and besought Agni, the god of fire, for protection. The god took her away into heaven and, as a substitute for her, he created, by his magic power, an unreal Sītā, who was ravished by Rāvaṇa. Here is a translation of the passage:

'A virtuous wife, devoted to her husband, is blessed indeed: there is no doubt about that. One can never harm her in this world. Thus, the beautiful Sītā, famous in the three worlds, the divine wife of Rāma, Daśaratha's son, defeated the lord of the Rākṣasas. Impelled by fate, Rāvaṇa, the lord of the Rākṣasas, coveted the large-eyed Sītā, the beautiful wife of Rāma. Having assumed, by his magic power, the appearance of an ascetic, he thought of ravishing her, the affectionate wife, while she was living in the lonely forest. But, knowing his intention and thinking of her husband, Daśaratha's son, she, the beautiful woman with the bright smile, went for protection to the domestic fire. Joining her hands, the wife of the king worshipped the god who practises the great *yoga*, the god who has the power of burning the whole universe; she worshipped him as if he were her unshakable husband himself. She said: 'I worship the god who practises the great

yoga, the supreme impenetrable Agni (Kṛśānu), who has the power of burning all beings, the lord who has the aspect of Kāla (Death). I beseech the purifying god of fire, the pious god who has the aspect of the Brahman, the *yogin* covered with the skin, the lord of creatures, the supreme abode. I beseech him whose material form is the world, him who is the source of all fiery energies, the great lord of the *yoga*, the god of fire, (him who is) Āditya, the supreme lord. For protection I beseech (him who is) Rudra, the great devouring one, the god with the trident, the fire that is to destroy the world, the lord of the *yogins*, the god who gives us as reward for good actions, enjoyment, or final liberation. I beseech thee, the various-eyed one, appearing in the form of '*bhur, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ*' (earth, atmosphere and heaven), thee who art concealed in a golden house, thee the great god, of unbounded energy. I beseech Agni Vaiśvānara, the god who dwells in all beings. I beseech the god who bears oblations to the gods and to the dead ancestors, the god of fire, the Lord. I beseech that supreme essence, that excellent, auspicious essence of god Savitṛ the heavenly Agni, the supreme light, the fire that by itself is imperishable."

Thus having murmured those eight invocations to the god of fire, the glorious consort of Rāma stood there with wide-open eyes, thinking of Rāma in her heart.

Then, out of the domestic fire, the divine Agni, the bearer of oblations, the great lord, whose soul is blazing fire, appeared, flaming up, as it were, with his fiery energy. And, having created an unreal Sītā, because he wanted the death of Rāvaṇa, he, the purifying god of fire, took the real Sītā, the beloved of Rāma, and disappeared with her. And Rāvaṇa, the lord of the Rākṣasas, having seen that unreal Sītā, took her away and went with her to Laṅkā, the land which lies in the middle of the ocean. But after Rāma, accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa, had killed Rāvaṇa and he had regained Sītā, his heart became agitated by doubts. Then the unreal Sītā, in order to convince the creatures of her innocence, entered the blazing fire, and the blazing fire burned her. And, having burned the unreal Sītā, the divine hot-rayed one showed Rāma the real Sītā. It was Agni, the purifyer, the god dear to the gods. And, having seized with both hands the feet of her husband, the daughter of Janaka bowed to the ground before Rāma. And, when he saw her, Rāma, the descendant of Raghu, rejoicing in his heart, with his eyes full of surprise, bowed his head before the god of fire, and paid him homage. And, in the presence of the creatures, the god who has the power of burning the world, the bearer of oblations, told the son of Daśaratha what had happened. He said: "This is thy perfectly faithful wife, virtuous as the goddess Pārvatī; this is thy beloved wife, who, having propitiated the goddess and

having obtained her favour by penance, became very dear to the goddess. This good-tempered, faithful wife, obedient to her husband was protected by the Lord (S'iva) like Pārvatī. The one, who was coveted by Rāvaṇa was an illusion. The Sītā who was taken away by the lord of the Rākṣasas and kept by that mighty one, was an unreal Sītā created by me, because I wished the death of Rāvaṇa. Therefore Rāvaṇa, the lord of the Rākṣasas, was seen by thee, and therefore that unreal image was taken away : the destroyer of the world has been killed. According to my words, receive the daughter of Janaka : she is pure and innocent. Consider thyself as the god Narāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) who, by his origin, is imperishable.' Having spoken these words, the divine impetuous one, the god who is all flames, the god whose face is turned in every direction, Agni, honored by Rāma and all the creatures, vanished.

Thus the passage of the *Kūrma-purāṇa.* is that version of the legend of Sītā based on an old tradition ? Possibly. But, I do not think so. I think that it is an invention of the author of the *Purāṇa.* In his opinion, it was inadmissible that Sītā had actually sat on the lap of the lord of the demons, for Sītā is an incarnation of the great goddess Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, as Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. And, he invented the story in order to show the perfect purity of Sītā i.e. Lakṣmī. And, on the other hand, he wanted, also, to praise the great god Agni, who, according to him, as it seems, is identical with the supreme Lord Rudra, S'iva, Maheśvara himself.

I think this new version of the legend of Sītā shows, in a striking way, how an old legend was to be transformed under the influence of new religious conceptions, for we clearly see the psychological reason which induced the author of the *Purāṇa* to transform the legend. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Rāma is a perfect hero, but still a human being. In the opinion of the author of the *Purāṇa*, he is the god Viṣṇu. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, Sītā is a perfect wife, but still a human being. In the opinion of the author of the *Purāṇa*, she is the goddess Lakṣmī. It would be utterly wrong to believe that the great goddess sat actually on the lap of the demon Rāvaṇa. The Sītā who sat on the lap of Rāvaṇa was a false Sītā. The real Sītā, that is, Lakṣmī, was protected by S'iva, the supreme Lord, and dwelt with him and the goddess Pārvatī in heaven.

Bṛhaspati-Nītisāra in Garuḍa-purāṇa

By

A. P. KARMARKAR, *Bombay*.

The Pūrvakhaṇḍa-Ācārakāṇḍa-Adhyāyas 108-115 of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* constitute a work called *Nītisāra* which is ascribed to Bṛhaspati. In Adhyāya 108, the tradition is given as follows :—

नीतिसारं सुरेन्द्राय इममूचे बृहस्पतिः ।
सर्वज्ञो येन चेन्द्रोऽभूद् दैत्यान् हत्वाऽऽप्नुयाद् दिवम् ॥ १०८, १०

With the exception of Adhyāyas 111-113, which deal with the principles of Polity (1), the whole text contains matter pertaining to *subhāṣitas* as in the *Nītiśataka* ascribed to Bhartṛhari[1]. Adh. 111 deals with the qualifications of the King (2), and his Servants (3). Adh. 112 describes the qualities of the *Kośādhyakṣa* (4), the *Senādhyakṣa* (5), the *Pratīhāra* (6), the *Lekhaka* (7), the *Dūta* (8), the *Dharmādhyakṣa* (9), the *Sūpakāra* (10), the *Vaidya* (11), the *Rājapurohita* (12), the *Pāthaka*, *Gaṇaka* and *Pratirodhaka* (13). Adh. 113 teaches the principle that the King should appoint the meritorious only and leave out of consideration those possessed of no qualities.

1. The name of Bṛhaspati and his work on polity are well known to Indian literature. Kautilya refers to the opinions of the various schools and individual writers on polity that preceded him, namely, the Mānavas, the Bārhaspatyas, the Aus'anasas, the Āmbhīyas, the Pārās'aras, and Bhāradvāja, Vis'ālākṣa, Pis'una, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi and Bāhudantīputra. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the *Arthas'āstra* of Bṛhaspati (cf. *S'ānti*, 57, 1—3 ; 58, 28 ; 29 89—93 ; *Vana*, 32, 361).

In the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* of Bhāsa, Rāvaṇa is described to have said :—

'काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि साङ्गोपाङ्गं वेदमधीये, मानवं धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योगशास्त्रं, बार्हस्पत्यम् अर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेर्न्यायशास्त्रं, प्राचेतसं श्राद्धकल्पं च.

The *Kāma-s'āstra* relates how in the beginning of the creation Manu and Bṛhaspati separated from the extensive original teachings of Prajāpati, the two portions on *Dharma* and *Artha* respectively (cf. 5 and 7). The *Buddha-carita* of As'vaghoṣa maintains the tradition :—

यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वंशकरावृषी तौ ।
तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ १, ४६

In his *Yukti-kalpataru*, Bhoja Says :—

नीतिर्बृहस्पतिप्रोक्ता तथैवौशनसी परा ।
उभयोरविरुद्धात्र निरूप्या नीतिरुत्तमा ॥ ४

The *Pañca-tantra* refers to Bṛhaspati in the following manner :—

सुकृत्यं विष्णुगुप्तस्य मित्राऽऽप्तिर्भार्गवस्य च ।
बृहस्पतेरविश्वासो नीतिसन्धिस्त्रिधा स्थितः ॥ २, ४१

Somadeva in his *Yas'as-tilaka*, remarks : बृहस्पतिनीतय इव अदेवमातृकाः (cf. *Nirṇayasāgara*, ed., p. 3).

It is, however, a matter of great surprise that the text itself of the great work, namely, *Arthas'āstra* of Bṛhaspati still remains in oblivion.

The author merely states that he is a follower of the school of Bṛhaspati, but hardly gives any detailed information regarding the ancient tradition of that school. The *subhāṣitas* added, as pieces of advice, indicate that he has only tried to imitate works like the *Nītiśataka* towards expounding the principles of *niti* or morals. In doing so, he has served a double purpose, namely, that he has laid down a firm foundation for Bṛhaspati as an author of a *Nītisāra* as tradition ascribed it, and also tried to bring together the matter in regard to polity and morality. The works like Kamandaka's and S'ukra's *Nītisāra* had already come into vogue. And, as if by way of imitation, the author has produced this work of merit.

This work refers to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu which notion came into being with the advent of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* (circa 8th. cen. A. D.). This consideration coupled with its style and general make-up points to its having been compiled at a later date than the original *Garuḍa-purāṇa*. As there are stanzas in the text similar to those of Bhartṛhari[1], and, as it seems to be a later redaction of the *Bārhaspatya-sūtra*[2], it might have belonged to the 12th. century A. D.

1. Cf. *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, Ācārakāṇḍa, *113*, 115 and *115*, 81 which are the same as *Nītiśataka* (Ānandās'rama ed.) vv. 127 and 90, respectively.

2. Cf. *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, Ācārakāṇḍa, III, 17 and *Bārhaspatya-sūtra*, 6, 8.

Accusative singulars of asmad and yuṣmad in Mahābhārata[1]

By

E. D. KULKARNI, *Bassein*.

Sanskrit grammar lays down that the forms of the accusative singlular of the first personal pronoun *asmad* and the second personal pronoun *yuṣmad* are *mām, mā* and *tvām, tvā* respectively. But a critical study of the material presented below unmistakably indicates that the forms *mā* and *tvā* are favoured by the Southern recension and especially by the Malayālam version. Only two Mss., namely, M_1 and M_2 of this version were utilised for the reconstruction of the critical text of the *Vana*, while for the *Udyoga*, five Mss. were included in the critical apparatus. This version of the *Udyoga* is perhaps the only version in the *Udyoga*, where even in the individual Mss. accretions are not very conspicious[2]. But the version of the *Vana* is not homogenous, M_1 and M_2 exhibiting among themselves numerous differences[3]. Now this 'the best Southern version', as the Editor of the Critical Edition remarks, and, also, as the traditions handed down by the Malayālam Mss. indicate, has preserved the Grantha in a text purer and more unmixed form than even some comparatively earlier Grantha Mss., for the Malayālam Mss. do not at all seem to have come in contact with the Northern recension till very recent times[4]. Again, this version, hailing from the province of Southernmost extremity of India, is found to have several striking agreements with the S'āradā version of the opposite end of India, which is considered by the Editor of the Critical Text as the *textus simplicior*[5]. With reference to the present paper also, the S'āradā version exhibits clear tendencies of agreeing with the Malayālam version in accepting the forms *mā* and *tvā*. In this, the importance of the present study is made apparent, incidently.

1. The present paper is based on the Poona Critical Edition of the *Vana-parvan* and *Udyoga-parvan*, and has been prepared under the guidance of my teacher Dr. S. M. Katre.

2. Cf. Introduction to the *Udyoga*, XLVII.

3. *Sukthankar Memorial Volume* (= SMV.) I. 172.

4. SMV. I. 93, 172.

5. This version is incomplete and fragmentary. The extant portion contains the *Sabhā* in its entirety but only fragments of the other two *Parvans*. The beginning of the *Ādi* and last 46 Adhyāyas of the *Vana* being lost. The Ms. was received for collation after the critical apparatus of the *Udyoga* had been completely written out. Therefore, the readings of this Ms. are given separately in appendix III to the *Udyoga*, and mentioned in the present paper under Section X below. Thus this Ms. is not a genuine representative of the old version of Kashmir as the unique birch-bark codex of the *Ādi*.

Now the variants recorded under I, III and V are very conspicuous in the *apparatus criticus* with reference to the Southern Mss. and, especially, to the Malayālam Mss. It will be natural, then, to suppose that the Mss. bring in the usage current in that region and that no variants of *māṃ* and *tvāṃ* occur in the Mss hailing from that place where these forms are normally used. Moreover, this fact is confirmed, if we look to the variants under II and IV, where we clearly see the Northern version trying to use the forms current in the North. Decidedly, not all of them can be dispensed with by saying that they are cases of phonetic moments involving the presence or the absence of a nasal.

I. *mā* for *māṃ* :—

3.6. 12a ($T_1 G_2 M_2$); 19.17d [$K_2 T_2$ G (except G_1) M]; 19.20d [K_3 no, $D_5 M_2$ vā, T_2 G (except G_1) M_1]; 19.21d (G_1 M, G_2 vā); 19.32b [T G (except G_2) vā, M]; 27.17a [S (except M_2 sahasā) dūrān *māṃ*]; 81 x. 1 (T_2 G_3 samālokya > *mām* ālokya); 22.22d (S'_1 M_2); 23.10d [(T $G_{3\,4}$ samavāvṛṇot > *māṃ* samāvṛṇot); 26.7b (K_3 M_2); 28.11d (S'_1 K_3 G_2 M_2); 30.49d (K_3 $G_{2\cdot4}$ M_2); 33.58*a* [T_1 G (except G_3)]; 53.3b (S'_1 D_4 $G_{1\cdot2}$ M); 53.19a (K_3 D_1); 58.30*a* (Dn_2 M_2); 58.31d (S'_1 K_3 Dn_2 D_6); 61.18d (K_2 T_1 G_4 M_1); 61.21d (D_4 G_4 M_1); 61.24d (Dc_1 G_2 M); 61.99a (Dc_1); 62.32b (K_1); 63.6d (M_1); 67.5a (S'_1 Dc_1); 70.18b (M); 74.4b (D_3 M_1); 78.14b (S'_1); 81.105d (S'_1 K_1 vai); 90.16a ($G_1 M_2$); 95.21d (S'_1); 102.14d (S'_1 K_1 M_2); 114. 20a (S'_1 $K_{1\cdot3}$M); 154. 27 c [$K_{1\cdot2}$ $Dn_1 D_3$ S (except M_1)]; 163.12c (T_1); 167.1c (M); 167.18c (K_1 M); 167.23 c (G_2M); 167.24c (M); 168.7c (M_2); 170.16a (K_2); 170.17c (K_3 M_2); 185.9b ($K_{3\cdot4}$); 185.18c ($K_{2\,3}$); 185.31a ($G_{2\cdot4}$); 190.77a ($S'_1 K_{1\cdot3}$ T_1); 191.2 (T_2 $G_{1\cdot2}$); 191.5 (G_1); 191.6 ($T_1 G_{2\,4}$); 197.18a ($K_3 Dc_2 M_2$); 202.16f (T_1 $G_{2\cdot4}$ M_2); 203.3b (B_3M); 213.10c ($T_2 G_1 M_1$); 218.15c ($Dc_1 G_2$); 218.18a ($S'_1 K_{2\cdot3}$ $D_{2\cdot5}$); 223.7d ($S'_1 K_{1\cdot2}$ D_3); 227.11a (K_3); 247.36b (M_1); 250.5b ($S'_1 B_1$); 264.49a ($K_3 M_2$); 266.9c ($K_2 Dc_2 D_2$); 266.66a ($K_{1\cdot3}$); 280.22d (M_2); 281.12d (D_4); 281.63d (K_2); 286.1b (K_3 Dc $D_{2\cdot4}$ M); 290.12a (Dn_1 $D_{2\cdot4\cdot6}$ T_2 G_3 M_2).

5.52 × ($M_{3\text{-}5}$); 5.11.14d ($D_7 M_{3\cdot4}$); 11.18c [M (except M_2)]; 14.13c ($B_1 D_2$ iti *mā* > *mām* iti); 14.14b (T_2 $G_{2\cdot3}$ M); 18.24b ($M_{3\text{-}5}$); 30.2d ($D_{1\cdot9}$ M); 30.37c ($K_4 D_1 M_{1\cdot2\cdot5}$); 30.39c ($M_1$); 32.5a ($Dn_1 D_1 M_{3\cdot4}$); 33.3d ($G_1$); 33.9b ($D_9 G_4$); 34.2a (M); 43.22c [M (except M_2)]; 44.2b [M (except M_5)]; 47.3c (M); 47.61a [M (except M_1)]; 48.30b (G_3 M); 50.60d (T_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ $M_{1\text{-}4}$); 55.5c ($G_{3\cdot4}$ M); 60.22d [M (except M_1)]; 70.6d (M); 74.2a (D_1 $M_{1\cdot2}$); 74.3c ($M_{3\text{-}5}$); 74.4a (D_1 $M_{3\cdot5}$); 74.4d ($M_{3\cdot5}$); 74.13a ($D_1 M_4$); 74.14d ($K_{1\cdot2}$ $G_{3\cdot4}$ M_1); 80.27a [D_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ M (except M_2)]; 88.56a (M); 88.68a ($D_1 G_5$); 91.16a (G_5M);

114.11c ($M_{1.2}$); 133.18c (G_4 M vā; K_3 vai, $K_{1.2}$ $D_{7.8}$ G_5); 139.3 b (T_1 $G_{3.4}$ $M_{1.2.4}$); 139.3d [M (except M_2)]; 139.16a [G_3 M (except M_1)]; 139.21 a (Dn_1 D_6 M); 141.1c (T_1 M); 144.10d [$D_{3.4}$ vā, Ds_2 M (except M_2]; 153.19c (T $G_{2.3.5}$ M); 165.10a ($M_{1.2}$); 165.11a ($D_{7.8}$); 171.9a (M_{3-5}); 175.30a (T_1 $G_{3.4}$ M); 176.27d ($M_{1.2}$); 179.16c (M); 180.5b (T_1 M_{3-5}); 180.10a (M); 180.33a ($G_{2.3}$ M_2); 181.14a (M_{3-5}); 181.15c (D_2 $M_{3.5}$); 181.29c [M (except M_3)]; 186.5c ($D_{7.8}$); 182.12f (K_3 M); 193.21c (K_4 $D_{1.3.4}$ M).

II. *mām* for *mā* :—

3.5 19a ($K_{2.3}$ B D $G_{1.2}$); 35.1b [$K_{2.3}$ B D ($D_{1.3}$ missing) T_2 $G_{1.3}$]; 35.2c (K_{1-3} B Dn $D_{2.4-6}$ T_2 G); T_1 M taṃ *māṃ*); 35.7c [K_3 D ($D_{1.3}$ missing) G_4]; 48.40 a (K_3 $B_{1.3.4}$ Dn $D_{1.3-5}$ T_1); 49.27a (K_1 $B_{1.4}$ Dc Dn_1 $D_{1-3.5}$; K_{2-4} $B_{2.3}$ Dn_2 n_3 $D_{4.6}$ ābhāṣase; S *tvaṁ* manyase > *mā* bhāṣase]; 211 × .2 (T_2 G_3); 70.31b (K_2 B_1 Dc_2 Dn D_{4-6} G_1); 213. 7a [N (except Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$) T_1 $G_{3.4}$ M_1]; 241.35d (K $D_{2.3.5}$ T_2); 252.22c (D_2); 264.55d (K Dn D_1 T_2 G_1).

5.24.10a [$K_{1.3}$m B D (except Ds $D_{9.10}$) T_2 G]; 47.40a [$D_{2.9}$ T G (except G_3)]; 74.14a ($K_{1.2}$ Ds $D_{1.2.7.8.10}$ cd S); 88.64a [N (except Ds_2 D_1; K_3 missing; K_5 om.) G_4]; 181.27b [K_4 BD (except D_7; D_4 om.) $G_{1.2}$ ca].

III. *tvā* for *tvāṃ* :—

4.6.17c [Ś$_1$ S (except G_2 M_1)]; 11.14a (T G_{2-4} M samanuprāptaḥ > *tvām* anuprāptaḥ); 13.45d (Ś$_1$ G_2); 13.46d (Ś$_1$ K_3 M^2); 14.15c (Ś$_1$ M_2); 23.24d [Ś$_1$ K_3; S sma (M_2 naḥ)]; 28.4a (M_2); 28.5c (T_1 M_2); 28.10c (Ś$_1$ K_2 M_2); 34.77d (Ś$_1$ K_1 T_1 M); 35.9a (M_2); 40.20c (Ś$_1$ T_2 $G_{2.3}$); 174 × .9 (Ś$_1$ K_3); 40.59a [Ś$_1$ S (except G_1)]; 43.24c (Ś$_1$ T_1 M_2); 52.5c (Ś$_1$ K_3 G_1); 53.11b (Ś$_1$); 53.20a (Ś$_1$ G_4 M_2); 56.15b (Ś$_1$); 57.16c (K_1 $D_{2.3}$); 58.25d (Ś$_1$ T_1); 58.34a (Ś$_1$ K_1); 60.10d (G_2 M_2); 61.25c (K_2); 63.13d (Ś$_1$ K_1 D_4 $G_{2.4}$ M_1); 70.17c [D_3 (sup.lin. ca)]; 70.33a (Ś$_1$ Dn_2 D_3 M_2); 75.3a (Ś$_1$ K_1); 77.14a (Ś$_1$ M); 95.2c (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$); 95.18a (Ś$_1$ K_2 $D_{1.2}$ M); 97.9c (G_2 M); 100.24a ($K_{2.4}$); 111.22d (Ś$_1$ K_1 M); 115.5d (Ś$_1$ K_2); 124.11a [M *tvad* ṛte; K_1 D_5 ṛte *tvā* > ṛte *tvām*]; 131.30a (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.3}$); 133.22a (K_3 M_2); 134.28b (Ś$_1$ K_1 M_2); 126.16a (Ś$_1$ K_1 M_2); 136.16a (Ś$_1$ G_1 M); 139.13d (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$ nātra); 147.9c (K_2); 150.11d (K_3 M_2); 158.41a (Ś$_1$ K_3 M_2); 163.6a [M mahāprājña > *tvām* bhagavān]; 164.20b (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$); 164.23a (M_2); 176.21c (Ś$_1$ K_2); 177.4d (Ś$_1$ K_{1-3} M); 178.40d (Ś$_1$); 183.11c ($K_{2.3}$ M); 184.16d [S (except $G_{1.4}$)]; 186.122c (G_4); 190.47 ($T_{1.2}$ $G_{2.4}$); 190.60c (K_4 Dc); 190.63a (Ś$_1$ K_1 G_4); 190.64d (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.3.4}$ D_2 M); 190.65c ($K_{1.2}$ T_2 $G_{1.4}$); 192.15d (K_1 G_1 M_1); 205.19c (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$ $G_{2.4}$ M_2); 206.28a ($K_{1.2}$ G_4 M); 227.20c (Dc_2 D_2 M); 249.7c (Ś$_1$ M_2); 250.4a (Ś$_1$ $K_{1.2}$ G_1); 256.21c ($K_{1.2}$); 262.28b (K_1 G_1); 263.29a

(K_3 $G_{2\cdot4}$ M); 266.64c (K_3 M); 267.37c (K_3 M); 268.10a ($K_{1\cdot2}$ $G_{1\cdot4}$ M); 268.15a (Dc_2 D_3 M); 275.36a (K_2 D_3 G_1 M_2); 280.7a (M); 280.19d (K_1 T_1); 282.34c (D_2 M_1); 284.11a (M); 284.22b (M_2); 284.24a ($K_{1\cdot2}$ M); 285.6c (K_2 Dn_1 M); 285.8c (K_{1-3} M_1); 287.11a ($K_{1\cdot2}$ D_2); 290.15c (M_1); 292.13a ($G_{2\cdot4}$ M); 292.15a (M) 292.15c ($K_{1\cdot2}$ M); 292.16c (K_1 M_2); 292.17a (M_2); 292.20a ($K_{1\cdot2}$ G_1 M_2); 296.4a (D_4).

5.12.12a (Ds_2 D_1 T_1 $G_{1\cdot2}$ M); 13.5c [K (except K_2)] ; 15.12a (D_9 $M_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$) ; 16.8c [K_5 D_9 G_3 M (except M_2)] ; 16.28c (Dn G_4 $M_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$); 18.17a (M_{2-4}); 23.7d (M); 32.9a (M); 33.2c ($D_{1\cdot9}$); 34.3b (Dn_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ $M_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$); 35.19c [T_1 $G_{1\cdot5}$ M (M_{-1} inf.lin. *tvaṃ* tu ; M_{1-4} tatvam) tat *tvā* pṛcchāvahe tāta > prahlāda tat *tvāṃ* pṛcchāmi] ; 36.22c (G_3 M); 40.11a (K_4 $D_{1\cdot5\cdot6}$); 40.17d [K_2 S (except T_2 M_2)]; 47.1a (G_3 M); 54.26b (D_1 G_3 M); 56.52a (M); 63.1b [T_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ M (except M_5)] ; 64.2c (M); 65.6a ($G_{1\cdot3}$); 65.6b [S (except $G_{4\cdot5}$ M_5 ; M_2 om.)] ; 65.7c [T_1 M (except M_2)] ; 70.89c (G_2); 73.7c (K_1 $D_{2\cdot5}$ = 7 T_1 $G_{1\cdot5}$ M_{3-5}); 73.15d ($D_{1\cdot7}$ $G_{3\cdot4}$ M); 75.2d (T_1 G_5 M); 80.19a [D_1 T_1 G (except $G_{3\cdot4}$) M_{2-5}] ; 88.60a (D_1 M); 93.18a (T_1 G_5 M); 93.40a (G_5 $M_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$); 93.56d [$TG_{1\cdot2}$ (M) (except M_1 *tvat*)] ; 103.17b [Ds_2 M (except M_2)] ; 105.19b (D_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ $M_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$); 123.4b (M); 123.13a (T_1 $M_{1\cdot2}$); 131.39a (T_1 G_5 M); 132.3c (M); 132.8b (Dn_1); 132.9c (Dn_1 $M_{1\cdot2}$); 132.31c [S (except T_2 G_3)] ; 133.19a [T_1 G_5 M_{3-5} ; $M_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ (inf.lin.) vā] ; 133.32c [S (except $G_{3\cdot4}$)] 134.5f [D_9 T_1 $G_{4\cdot5}$ *mā tvā* ; T_2 G_2 *matvā* ; G_3 *mā vā* ; M *na tvā* > *mā tvā*] ; 136.14a (M_{3-5}); 136.15b (M); 136.16c (G_5 M); 138.11b T_1 $G_{3\cdot4}$ M); 140.2a (T_1 G_5 M ca d); 143.4c (K_3 Ds $M_{4\cdot5}$); 147.2b (T_1 $G_{1\cdot4}$ M); 158.27d (D_1 M_{3-5}); 159.13a (T_1 G_5 M); 165.3c ($M_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$); 166.9c (M); 174.23c (M); 176.10c (M_{3-5}); 178.20c (D_7 T_1 $G_{3\cdot5}$ $M_{1\cdot2}$); 178.33d ($M_{1\cdot2}$ ahaṃ); 178.34c ($M_{1\cdot2}$); 180.16a (T_1 $M_{1\cdot2}$) ; 180.17b (G_3) ; 184.10a [K_5 D_2 $G_{2\cdot3}$ M (except M_1)] ; 186.3c [D_8 S (except T_2 $G_{1\cdot2}$)] ; 190.23c (T_1 G_3 M); 195.20d (D_1 G_5 M_2).

IV. *tvāṃ* for *tvā* :—

3.9.1c (K_3 BD *tvāṃ* ; T_1 M_2 vaḥ) ; 27.9d [K_2 BD (except D_2 $D_{1\cdot3}$ missing) T_1 G_4] ; 28.13c [$K_{2\cdot3}$ BDc_1 ($D_{1\cdot3}$ missing) $G_{1\cdot4}$] ; 28.14a (K_3 *tvāṃ* ; B_1 D_2 G_4 *tvāṃ* ; M vītaṃ) ; 28.14d ($K_{2\cdot3}$ BD c_1 Dn D_{4-6} G_1 *tvāṃ* ; D_2 M_1 sādya ; M_2 sahaṃ) ; 35.1c [$K_{2\cdot3}$ BD ($D_{1\cdot3}$ missing) T_2 G] ; 131.1a (S'_1 K Dc $D_{1-3\cdot5}$); 131.14b [N (except S'_1 $K_{1\cdot2}$) ; 133.27a [all Mss. except S'_1 K_{1-3} M_2] ; 147.2d [$B_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ D (except $D_{2\cdot3\cdot5}$) *tvāṃ*. tu ; T_2 G_{2-4} sādhu] ; 147.6b [N (except S'_1 $K_{1\cdot2}$) T_2 G_{2-4}] ; 147.10c [all Mss. except S'_1 T_2 G_3 M_2] ; 159.11c ($K_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ $D_{1\cdot3\cdot5}$ T G) ; 164.24c [$K_{3\cdot4}$ B_1 $D_{2\cdot3\cdot6}$ T_2 G_{2-4} M varayehaṃ

tvām ; $B_{3\cdot4}$ Dc Dn $D_{1\cdot4\cdot5}$ varayeyaṃ *tvāṃ* > varaye *tvāhaṃ*] ; 186.7c [BD (except $D_{3\cdot5}$)] ; 186.88a [N (except $Ś_1$ D_4) T_1] ; 190.65c [K_{2-4} BD (except Dc_2) T_1 G_3 M] ; 198.12a [$K_{3\cdot4}$ BD (except Dc_2) G_3] ; 205.8d (BDc Dn $D_{1\cdot4-6}$ T_2 G_3 M_2) ; 206.28b BDn $D_{1\cdot4\cdot6}$ $G_{1\cdot3}$) ; 241.15b (K_4 BD T_2 G_3) ; 252.4c (T $G_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ M) ; 266.62a (Dc_2 D_2) ; 281.11a (M_1) ; 28.78b (BDc Dn $D_{2\cdot4\cdot6}$ G_3) ; 282.22a ($B_{1\cdot2}$ Dn $D_{4\cdot6}$ G_3).

5.23b (K $D_{1\cdot2}$ G_2) ; 30.1a [K_{1-3} BD (except $D_{1\cdot9}$) T_1 $G_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ M_1] ; 30.3c [K (except K_1) BD T_2 $G_{1\cdot3}$ (Ds_1 te ; D_1 vā)] ; 32.27a [$K_{2\cdot4\cdot5}$ B (B_1 missing) D (except Dn_1) T $G_{1\cdot2\cdot5}$ $M_{2\cdot5}$ Cs] ; 138.18a ($D_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$) ; 138.23c ($K_{1\cdot2}$ $D_{7\cdot9}$) ; 138.26a $K_{3\cdot4}$ $B_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ Dn Ds $D_{1\cdot3\cdot4\cdot6}$) ; 143.4c (K_3 Ds $M_{4\cdot5}$).

V. Readings of the Sāradā version of the *Udyoga*.

(a) *mā* for *māṃ* :—

8.29d ; 13.12c ; 15.19 c ; 32.3a ; 32.5a ; 61.13b ; 113.6b ; 158.16d ; 175.25b .

(b) *tvā* for *tvāṃ* :—

7.33b ; 15.12a ; 56.52a ; 63.1b ; 64.2c ; 67.11d ; 70.89c ; 88.60a ; 93.18a ; 93.40a ; 112.18d ; 119.23c ; 158.27d ; 165.3c ; 176.10c.

Portrayal of Nature in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa[1]

By

P. T. NARASIMHACHAR, *Bangalore.*

न राज्यभ्रंशनं भद्रे न सुहृद्भिर्विनाभवः ।
मनो मे बाधते दृष्ट्वा रमणीयमिमं गिरिम् ॥ II, 94, 3

In these words of Rāma addressed to Sītā, Vālmīki introduces us to the hills and forests of Daṇḍakāraṇya. These forests and hills do not inspire us with fear. On the other hand, the poet assures us that in their company one can be as happy as among friends. They are not alien to our spirit. Provided we have the eye and the mind to see and comprehend their beauty, the pleasures they yield are not inferior to those of civilization.

Vālmīki is our great poet of nature. His pictures are bright with colours and alive with movement. His conceptions are original and daring, but his delineation is simple. There is hardly any object in nature that does not yield him joy by its beauty. Whatever he describes makes an indelible impression on our mind:

इमानि शुभगन्धीनि पश्य लक्ष्मण सर्वशः ।
नलिनानि प्रकाशन्ते जले तरुणसूर्यवत् ॥ IV, 1, 62

'Look at these fragrant lotuses, Lakṣmaṇa. They are shining in the lake like the young sun.'

विपक्व-शालि-प्रसवानि भुक्त्वा प्रहर्षिता सारस-चारु-पङ्क्तिः ।
नभः समाक्रामति शीघ्रवेगा वातावधूता ग्रथितेव माला ॥ IV, 30, 47

'The pretty flight of *sārasa* birds, happy after a hearty meal of the ripe paddy corn, is flying across the sky in an unbroken waving line like a garland of flowers swinging in the wind.'

शक्यमम्बरमारुह्य मेघसोपानपङ्क्तिभिः ।
कुटजार्जुनमालाभिरलंकर्तुं दिवाकरम् ॥ IV, 28, 4

'One can step on the stairs of these rain clouds, climb up to the heavens and decorate the sun with the flowers of *kuṭaja* and *arjuna*.'

The poet does not remain content in describing, as above, merely the outward beauty of nature—that aspect of her which pleases the eye. His art goes deeper and reveals to us the inner significance of her being. The poet realises that every object in nature has its own moods and ways of expressing them. His hills dance and his trees

1. All the stanzas quoted in this article are taken from the 4th. edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* published by Nirṇayasāgara press, Bombay (1929).

sing. The restless forest breeze is like a man of many tastes and pleasures. The bee among its flowers compares well with a connoisseur enjoying his wines.

मारुतोद्धूतशिखरैः प्रनृत्त इव पर्वतः ।
पादपैः पुष्पपत्राणि सृजद्भिरभितो नदीम् ॥ II, 15, 8

'The hill by virtue of its trees, shedding flowers and leaves from their wind-tossed tops, appears as if it is dancing in glee in front of the river.' This hill is really like a grand-father trying to amuse a child.

पुष्पसञ्छन्नशिखरा मारुतोत्क्षेपचञ्चला: ।
अमी मधुकरोत्तंसाः प्रगीता इव पादपाः ॥ IV, 1, 10

'Their heads crowned with flowers and their limbs swayed by the wind, these trees, adorned with bees, appear as if they are singing a great symphony.'

पादपात् पादपं गच्छञ्शैलाच्छैलं वनाद्वनम् ।
वाति नैकरसास्वादसंमोदित इवानिलः ॥ IV, 1, 86

'This breeze blows, moving from tree to tree, rock to rock and wood to wood, as if the pleasure it has had in the company of any one of these is not enough to satisfy its soul.'

इदं मृष्टमिदं स्वादु प्रफुल्लमिदमित्यपि ।
रागरक्तो मधुकरो कुसुमेष्वेव लीयते ॥ IV, 1, 88.

'Ah, this is to my taste, this, indeed, is sweet and this is in full bloom ; thus, the passionate bee is engrossed in flowers.' (In fact, we feel like this bee when meandering through the flower-garden of Vālmīki's verses.)

The poet makes skilful use of the motions and sounds in nature to intensify human emotions as well. For example, when Sītā is being carried away by Rāvaṇa, the surrounding hills, with tears in the form of their water-falls streaming down their faces and their hands in the shape of many peaks thrown up in helpless agony, appear as if they are lamenting loudly at the sight of their dear Sītā being carried away (III, 53. 36). Their children, the trees, struck by the gale caused by the flight of Rāvaṇa, wave their branches in a more spirited manner and through the voices of their birds appear to cry out to Sītā, 'Do not be afraid, do not be afraid.' (III, 53, 33).

Occasionally such fancies of the poet develop themselves into more elaborate forms resulting in concrete personifications. Below are quoted a few lines describing the river Ganges ·

जलघाताट्टहासोग्रां फेननिर्मलहासिनीम् ।
क्वचिद्वेणीकृतजलां क्वचिदावर्तशोभिताम् ॥
क्वचिद्गम्भीरनिर्घोषां क्वचिद्भैरवनिस्वनाम् ॥
प्रमदामिव यत्नेन भूषितां भूषणोत्तमैः ।
फलपुष्पैः किसलयैर्वृतां गुल्मैर्द्विजैस्तथा ॥ II, 50, 17 ; 23

The portrayal by the poet of a mountain which Hanumān climbs for his return flight from Laṅkā, makes a more profound impression. Only five lines are quoted to show the grandeur of the poet's conception :

बोध्यमानमिव प्रीत्या दिवाकरकरैः शुभैः ।
निःश्वसन्तमिवामर्षाद् घोरैराशीविषोत्तमैः ।
नीहारकृतगम्भीरैर्ध्यायन्तमिव गह्वरैः ॥
मेघपादनिभैः पादैः प्रक्रान्तमिव सर्वतः ।
जृम्भमाणमिवाकाशे शिखरैरभ्रमालिभिः ॥ V, 56, 27 ; 31; 32

What a beautiful relationship the poet has created between the sun and the mountain. The sun gently wakes him up every morning by his loving touch. This mountain is not to be trifled with. He is a person of many moods. One feels his breath of anger when the serpents hiss. In the ice-domed majestic caves, he has his meditations.

The moon also has his oblation of verses from the poet. She enters the sky like a swan into the blue waters of a lake (V, 17, 1). Seen against the racing white clouds, the moon appears like a fretful white bull which would break away from its fold in the sky (V, 5, 1). The embrace of her cool light is capable of giving one the same ineffable happiness as that of a fond parent's. (II, 44, 10). She calms an excited mind like a friend giving wise counsel in a crisis (V, 17, 2).

The above examples do by no means exhaust the ways in which the poet depicts the beauties of nature in his inimitable flowing words. He sometimes uses human figures to embellish his pictures of her :

सुपुष्पितांस्तु पश्यैतान् कर्णिकारान् समन्ततः ।
हाटकप्रतिसञ्छन्नान्नरान् पीताम्बरानिव ॥ IV, 1, 21

'Look at these *karṇikāra* plants in full bloom. They appear like men wearing yellow garments worked in gold all over.'

More complex in texture and richer in suggestion is the following verse describing the coldness of water in a lake in the winter season:

एते हि समुपासीना विहगा जलचारिणः ।
नावगाहन्ति सलिलमप्रगल्भा इवाहवम् ॥ III, 16, 22

'These water-birds have stuck to the shore and enter not the lake like recruits the front line of battle.'

In some other instances, the poet flashes forth lovely images of nature to portray human beings. Here is a stanza describing a lady in Rāvaṇa's harem :

काचिद्वीणां परिष्वज्य प्रसुप्ता संप्रकाशते ।
महानदीप्रकीर्णेव नलिनी पोतमाश्रिता ॥ V, 10, 37

'This lady has fallen asleep with her arms entwined round the *vīṇā* like a lotus, clinging to a float and spread on the surface of a great river.' Each picture is pretty in itself and each adds to the charm of the other by association.

उपरिष्टाच्छरीरेण छायया चावगाढया ।
सागरे मारुताविष्टा नौरिवासीत्तदा कपि: ॥ V, 1, 68

'The monkey with his huge body above and his image set thick in the sea below, looked like a ship in full sail.'

This describes the great Hanumān and his shadow in the sea, both of them in motion, with the blue sky and its bulging white clouds encompassing them, like wind-filled sails.

उद्धूतेन च वस्त्रेण तस्याः पीतेन रावण: ।
अधिकं परिबभ्राज गिरिर्दीप्त इवाग्निना ॥ III, 52, 14

'With Sītā's yellow garment streaming behind him, Rāvaṇa appeared resplendent like a mountain ablaze with fire.' The simile also suggests that in abducting Sītā, Rāvaṇa was courting disaster.

The poet has also utilised some moods of nature to depict the psychological states of his characters. In Kālidāsa, this aspect of the art has reached its culmination; but, as far as I know, Vālmīki appears to be its progenitor. Two stanzas are quoted below to illustrate the point, one describing Sītā and the other Kaikeyī :

सा रामसंकीर्तनवीतशोका रामस्य शोकेन समानशोका ।
शरन्मुखे साम्बुदशेषचन्द्रा निशेव वैदेहसुता बभूव ॥ V, 36, 36

'On hearing the recitation of the name of Rāma (from Hanumān who was sitting on the tree above her, still invisible to her), Sītā lost her sorrow, but, at the same time, became as concerned about Rāma's sufferings as Rāma himself was. In fact, this daughter of Vaideha looked, then, like the night at the beginning of autumn in which the remnants of black clouds still cling to her moon.' Sītā was both happy and unhappy as this night with its blended moods.

उदीर्णसंरम्भतमोवृतानना तदावमुक्तोत्तममाल्यभूषणा ।
नरेन्द्रपत्नी विमना बभूव सा तमोवृता द्यौरिव मग्नतारका ॥ II, 10, 66

This is a portrait of queen Kaikeyī in her dark mood, about to raise a storm in the household of King Daśaratha and the kingdom of Ayodhyā : 'Her face became dark with rising jealousy. She threw away her rare jewels and garlands. This beloved queen of the King, whose mind had lost its peace, appeared like the sky blackened (by the storm-clouds) with all its stars submerged.' The simile is suggestive to a degree. The word द्यौ: is well chosen and it connotes the great beauty of Kaikeyī which kept the old King's passion for her ever young.

Here I must conclude. Such vivid, colourful and moving pictures full of subtle suggestions, can be found in abundance in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. He laid the foundation of the great art of depicting nature in her various moods and drawing from her echoes of all human emotions from the simplest to the most complex. On reading the Rāmāyaṇa, one feels that Vālmīki is among those pioneers who have civilized nature and made her the perennial source of our aesthetic delight.

स्वोपज्ञ-स्मृति-विशेषः

निबन्धकः, विश्वेश्वरनाथ-रेउः, जोधपुरम्

अद्यत्वे पाश्चात्यशिक्षादीक्षासंपर्केण भारतीया अपि न खलु सर्वांशत आद्रियन्ते शास्त्रोक्तम्। किन्तु समुपस्थितेऽवसरे प्रायस्तदुपेक्षन्ते। अनुपदं च तासु तासु शास्त्रीयाज्ञासु तर्कं वितर्कं तत्तत्कारण-पृच्छां चारचयन्ति ते शास्त्रविदां संनिधौ। तेषां स्वान्तसंतोषणायैवास्माभिर्निर्मितैका विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिः। यत्र खलु,

संस्कृतेः स्वच्छतायाश्च शुद्धेर्वा पैतृकासृजः।
समाजसुखशान्त्योश्च रक्षार्थं मनुना तु यत्॥

ऋषिभिश्चापरैरुक्तं स्वस्वशास्त्रेषु तन्मया।
विश्वेश्वरस्मृतौ सार्थं वर्ण्यते युगसंगतम्॥

एतेषां विषयाणां निरूपणाय चास्या द्वादशस्वध्यायेषु आसन्नत्रयोदशशतानि अनुष्टुभां संजातानि। इह तावत्तन्मध्यतः कानिचित् पद्यान्युद्ध्रियन्ते—

तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन देशा नानाविधास्तथा।
मनुष्या यद्धि दृश्यन्ते ज्ञानवृद्धिकरं हि तत्॥

समागमश्च साधूनां मनसः शान्तिदो मतः।
स्वास्थ्यदौ जलवायू च देहारोग्यं प्रयच्छतः॥

शान्तं पूतं च तत्रत्यं वातावरणमद्भुतम्।
आध्यात्मिकीमुन्नतिं हि कुरुते तीर्थसेविनः॥ १, ४२-४४ (तिलकम्)

समाजहितसंरक्षा मनःशान्तिश्च सात्त्विकी।
हेतुर्यद्यपि धर्मस्य मूढैस्तदपि युध्यते॥

प्रसन्नमनसा नित्यं दन्तैः संचर्व्य यत्नतः।
यथावकाशं तु शनैः शनैर्भोजनमाचरेत्॥

सूर्योपस्थानतो नित्यं जायते नीरुजं वपुः।
शास्त्रविज्ञानसिद्धं तत् तत् प्रातःसायमाचरेत्॥ २, ६; ३०; ५७.

लब्धाभीप्सितसन्तानस्ततः परिहरन्नृतून्।
भार्याऽऽत्मतुष्ट्यै विहरेद् वीर्यरक्षाहिते रतः॥

शिष्टाख्यानानि च पठेच्छृणुयाद् वा समाहितः।
पितृणां श्रेष्ठकर्माणि श्रावयेत्पुत्रपौत्रकान्॥

येनानुकुर्युः सिद्ध्यर्थं जगत्यां तेऽपि पूर्वजान्।
पितृणां स्मृतिरत्रैव श्रद्धया श्राद्धमुच्यते॥ ३, १८; ३५; ३६.

लोभाभावोऽतिलोभश्च द्वावेतौ हानिदौ यतः।
अर्थप्रधाने कालेऽस्मिन् मितलोभो भवेत् ततः॥

धृतपूर्वाणि चान्येन वस्त्रादीनि न धारयेत् ।
यतः कण्ड्वादिरोगाणां न स्यात्संक्रमणं तनौ ॥
स्नाने प्राक् क्षालनं मूर्ध्नो यदुक्तं शास्त्रपारगैः ।
मस्तिष्काक्रामिरक्तोत्थ-पक्षाघातनिरोधि तत् ॥ ४,५;२२;३२.

क्षीरदाः पशवो ये च ये कृष्या उपयोगिनः ।
वाहरक्षोपयुक्ता ये तेऽवध्या इह कीर्तिताः ॥
शावाशौचस्य जगति हेतुद्वय्यनुमीयते ।
संक्रामकाणां रोगाणां निरोधः शुक्-प्रकाशनम् ॥
गृहकार्ये निपुणया प्रसन्नाकारया तथा ।
आयोनव्यययया भाव्यं स्वच्छोपस्करयाऽपि च ॥ ५,१०;४२;८३.

यथासाध्यं न भिक्षेत वानप्रस्थगतोऽपि सन् ।
स्वार्जितैः पुत्रदत्तैर्वा धनैः प्राणान् विनिर्वहेत् ॥
प्रायोऽर्धकोटिसंख्यैस्तु भिक्षुभिर्भारतेऽधुना ।
गृह्युपार्जितवित्तस्य वृथा नाशो विधीयते ॥
गृहस्थाश्रमनिर्याता अपरे त्रय आश्रमाः ।
तेनैव परिपोष्याश्च श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद् गृही मतः ॥ ६,९;१०;४२.

पशवो हिंस्रका ये स्युर्ये स्युः कृषिविनाशकाः ।
अन्यहानिकरा ये च तेषामाखेटमाचरेत् ॥
ग्रामाणां सप्तलक्षेऽत्र भारतस्य निवासिनः ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिजनाः संवर्ध्याः शिक्षणादिभिः ॥
व्ययं श्रमं च लाभं च परिज्ञायाथवा पुनः ।
करादिकं सुनिर्धार्यं व्यापारे कृषिकर्मणि ॥ ७,४९;८०;८८.

प्रतिग्रामं निजे राज्ये सीमां निश्चित्य तत्त्वतः ।
स्थाप्यास्तत्र शिलाखण्डा मानचित्रं च कारयेत् ॥
पशुपक्षिष्वपि क्रौर्यं ये निरर्थं प्रकुर्वते ।
छिन्दन्ति फलिवृक्षांश्च तेऽपि दण्ड्या यथोचितम् ॥
स्थितेर्वशादथाज्ञानात् कुटुम्बभरणोचितम् ।
अन्नाद्यपहृतं येन दण्डयेत्तमबन्धनम् ॥ ८,१२६;१३९;१४९.

यद्वत् पतिव्रता शस्ता तद्वत् पत्नीव्रतः पुमान् ।
अतः पत्न्यां तु जीवन्त्यां नोद्वहेदपरां स्त्रियम् ॥
स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहाज्ञा विरलैवोपलभ्यते ।
तथापि गर्भघातेभ्यो विवाहस्त्वल्पहानिकृत् ॥

अप्रशस्तो हि बालानां विवाहो हानिकृत् स यत् ।
प्रौढानामप्रशस्तोऽथ वयसा चासमानयोः ॥ ९,४७;५२;५४.

भूमिगर्भगतानां हि जीवानां नाशशङ्कया ।
निन्दन्ति कृषिमर्थ्यां ये न ते तत्त्वार्थबोधिनः ॥

वैरतोऽकारणं वापि या हिंसा सा विनिन्दिता ।
नो चेदुच्छ्वासनिःश्वासक्रियापि स्यादसंभवा ॥

चाण्डालादीनपि नरो मनुष्या इति चिन्तयन् ।
तिरस्कुर्यान्न लोकेऽस्मिञ्शूद्राणां तु कथैव का ॥ १०,२७;२८;३६.

सीदति स्वजने योऽर्थं परेभ्यो यशसेऽर्पयेत् ।
दानं न फलदं तस्य भवतीत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥

पोष्याणां पोषरोधेन यः करोत्यौर्ध्वदैहिकम् ।
निष्फलं तस्य तज्ज्ञेयं मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥

कृतसागरयात्रोऽपि विद्याद्यर्जनकर्मणे ।
स्वाचारमनतिक्रान्तो जात्या भ्रश्येन्न कर्हिचित् ॥ ११,६;७;१५.

निरुध्य तु तमः सत्त्व-रजसी आश्रितः समे ।
बुधः कुर्याद् यथाशक्यं स्थितिं समयसंगताम् ॥

आत्मवत्सर्वभूतेषु पश्यन् रागविवर्जितः ।
समदृष्टिः सुशान्तात्मा पदं याति परं जनः ॥

सर्वदेवमयो यस्तु सर्वभूतमयश्च यः ।
हृदयस्थोऽखिलव्यापी सोऽयं कर्मफलप्रदः ॥ १२,२६;३५;४३.

निबन्धस्यास्योत्तरार्धः पुनरस्माभिर्दायभागात्मको निर्मितः । तत्र चासन्नसपादचतुःसहस्र-मनुष्टुभां संजातम् । स एष दायभागविषयस्तथास्माभिर्विशदीकृतो येन स्फुटं ज्ञायेत यत् कस्मिन् प्रान्ते कतमो दायभागो मन्यते । तथा मिताक्षरादिग्रन्थानां वचनैर्विभिन्नप्रान्तीया न्यायालयाः कं कं नाम भावमुद्भावयन्ति । पुरतश्चोक्तादुत्तरार्धादाद्यानि पञ्चाशत् पद्यान्युद्ध्रियन्ते :—

उपोद्घातः ।

चातुर्वर्ण्ये समुत्पन्नास्तन्मतानुगताश्च ये ।
प्रत्यावृत्ताश्च ये तस्मिन् तदर्थं विधिरुच्यते ॥१॥

व्यवहारोद्भवस्थानानि ।

श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारो विधानानां प्रवर्तकाः ।
देशभेदैः पुनस्तत्र जायते भिन्नता क्वचित् ॥२॥

वाराणस्यां[1] महाराष्ट्रे[2] विदेहे[3] द्रविडे[4] तथा ।

१. काशीप्रदेशे । ३. मिथिलाप्रान्ते ।
२. बंबईप्रान्ते । ४. मद्रासप्रान्ते ।

मान्या मिताक्षरा[१] नित्यं प्रान्तिकाऽऽचारवर्जिता ॥३॥

वाराणस्यां तु मान्यौ स्तो द्वावेतौ हि तया समम् ।
[२]वीरमित्रोदयस्त्वाद्योऽपरो निर्णयसिन्धुकः ॥४॥

महाराष्ट्रे तु पूर्वोक्तावुभौ मान्यौ तया सह ।
व्यवहारमयूखश्च[३] मुख्यो यो गुर्जरे मतः ॥५॥

विदेहे तु तया सार्धं मान्यौ स्तो 'वि' समन्वितौ ।
वादचिन्तामणिः पूर्वो वादरत्नाकरोऽपरः ॥६॥

द्रविडेऽथ तया सार्धं मान्या ग्रन्था इमे बुधैः ।
सरस्वतीविलासोऽथ वीरमित्रोदयस्तथा ॥७॥

पाराशरो माधवीयस्तथा च स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ।
एषा न्यायविधौ ज्ञेया प्रान्तीया शास्त्रमान्यता ॥८॥ (युग्मम्)

वङ्गे पुनर्दायभागः[४] सर्वैराद्रियते बुधैः ।
अतो विधीनां मुख्ये द्वे व्यवस्थे[५] भारते मते ॥९॥

दायप्राप्त्यै तथा पृक्तकुटुम्बार्थं विनिश्चिताः ।
मिताक्षरीया नियमा दायभागेऽन्यथा कृताः ॥१०॥

दत्तक्ये[६] तस्य मीमांसा[७] चन्द्रिका[८] च मता बुधैः ।
वाराणस्यां विदेहे च मुख्या पूर्वैव मन्यते ॥११॥

वङ्गेष्वथाऽपरा नाम्ना ख्याता दत्तकचन्द्रिका ।
सारमेतद् हि विज्ञेयं दत्तकस्य विनिर्णये ॥१२॥ (युग्मम्)

मिताक्षरानुगाश्चैते चतुर्धा[९] ये विभाजिताः ।
दत्तादानेऽथ दायाप्तौ तेऽपि भिन्नमताः पुनः ॥१३॥

मिताक्षरामतो मुख्यो महाराष्ट्रे तथोत्तरे ।
कनारानाम्निदेशेऽथ प्रान्ते रत्नगिरेः पुनः ॥१४॥

गुर्जरे बंबईद्वीप उत्तरे कोङ्कणेऽपि च ।
व्यवहारमयूखस्तु मतो मुख्यो बुधैर्ध्रुवम् ॥१५॥

१. मिताक्षरा विज्ञानेश्वरेण विक्रमस्य द्वादशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्धान्तिमभागे लिखिता याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेष्टीकास्ति। याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिश्च चतुर्थशताब्दीसमीपे रचितेत्यनुमीयते ।

२. वीरमित्रोदयः षोडशतमशताब्द्यामालिखितोऽभवत् ।

३. व्यवहारमयूखो नीलकण्ठभट्टेन सप्तदशशताब्द्यां लिखितः ।

४. दायभागरचयितुर्जीमूतवाहनस्य ईशवीयत्रयोदशपञ्चदशशताब्द्योर्मध्ये सत्ताऽनुमीयते ।

५. मिताक्षरीया दायभागीया च ।

६. दत्तकादाने ।

७. दत्तकमीमांसा ।

८. दत्तकचन्द्रिका ।

९. वाराणस्यादिप्रदेशभेदेन ।

पूनापुरे खानदेशे चाह्वदे[1] नगरे समौ ।
मिताक्षरामयूखौ तु मुख्या पूर्वैव किन्तु सा ॥१६॥

आचारस्त्रिविधो ज्ञेयः स्थानजातिकुलागतः ।
चिरप्रचलितस्यास्य स्मृतिभ्यो मुख्यता मता ॥१७॥

देशाचारस्य मुख्यत्वाद्यस्मिन्देशे स्थितो जनः ।
तत्रत्या नियमा एव दायाद्ये तत्कृते मताः ॥१८॥

देशान्तरे गते तस्मिन्नपि नो तत्र भिन्नता ।
तावद्यावन्न तद्देशाचारास्तेनानुमोदिताः ॥१९॥

तद्देशीयेषु नियमेष्वप्यासन्ये तु संमताः ।
तस्मिंस्तत्र स्थिते मान्यास्त एवास्य कृते पुनः ॥२०॥

ये तु देशान्तरं याते तस्मिन्संयोजिताः परम् ।
आचारा नियमेष्वन्ये ते प्रयोज्या न तत्कृते ॥२१॥

आचारे त्वत्र जातीये स्थानीये वाप्यपेक्ष्यते ।
प्राचीन्यं निश्चितत्वं च सातत्यं न्याय्यता तथा ॥२२॥

विशिष्टेन विधानेनाऽवर्जितः सुप्रमाणितः ।
सदाचाराऽविरुद्धश्च व्यवहारो बुधैर्मतः ॥२३॥

यत्र साधारणन्यायनियमैरस्य भिन्नता ।
वैशद्येन तु तत्रासौ व्याख्येयः स्पष्टताकृते ॥२४॥

आचारोऽल्पप्रमाणोऽपि नव्यत्वादिह मन्यते ।
परं तत्पुष्टयेऽन्यत्र लभ्यान्यपि सुनिश्चितम् ॥२५॥

आदेयानि प्रमाणानि यतः सम्यक् प्रमाणितः ।
आचार एव विज्ञेयः स्वतःसिद्धो बुधैरिह ॥२६॥ (युग्मम्)

वंशाचारस्तु मान्यः स्यात्स्थानीयाचारवद् ध्रुवम् ।
परम्परागतश्चाथ निश्चितश्च स्थिरः पुनः ॥२७॥

आकस्मिकोऽथ वंशेच्छाकृतस्त्यागः सुसाधितः ।
वंशाचारस्य तल्लोपकृतेऽलं विबुधैर्मतः ॥२८॥

स्थानीयव्यवहारस्य स्थितिर्भिन्ना पुनर्मता ।
यतः स तु भवेन्मान्यः सर्वैस्तत्र स्थितैर्जनैः ॥२९॥

हिन्दुन्यायानुगे वंशे जातः कोऽपि प्रदर्शयेत् ।
तद्विरुद्धं निजाचारं साधयेत्तं स एव हि ॥३०॥

१. अहमदनगरे ।

अनार्येणाथ वर्गेण कुटुम्बेनाथ वा पुनः ।
कतिचिद्रीतयो नूनं स्वीकृता आर्यसम्मताः ॥३१॥

तयोः कोऽपि विशिष्टाया आर्यरीतेर्ग्रहो यदि ।
स्ववर्गे दर्शयेत्तर्हि स एवैनं प्रमाणयेत् ॥३२॥

आचाराः स्वीकृता यत्र त्वन्यैर्हिन्दुषु संमताः ।
तत्राचारं विशिष्टं यो वदेत्तं साधयेदसौ ॥३३॥

सदाचारविरुद्धो यो लोकाचारविवर्जितः ।
विधानेन निषिद्धश्च ह्याचारस्त्याज्य एव सः ॥३४॥

दायप्राप्तौ सामान्या नियमाः ।

मिताक्षरायां सामीप्यं दाये मुख्यं मतं बुधैः ।
पारत्रिकस्य लाभस्य दायभागेऽस्ति मुख्यता ॥३५॥

आर्येषु प्राक्तनी नूनं पृक्तकौटुम्बिकी प्रथा ।
पृक्ताः संपृक्तिभाजश्च पूजने भोजने धने ॥३६॥

नूनं मैताक्षरेष्वत्र संपृक्तेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।
संपृक्तेऽर्थे भवेत्स्वार्थः संपृक्तो न विभाजितः ॥३७॥

दायभागानुगेष्वत्र संश्लिष्टकुलशालिषु ।
संश्लिष्टेऽर्थे भवेदंशो विभाजितसमः[१] पुनः ॥३८॥

मिताक्षरामते याति संसृष्टेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।
कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्भागो संसृष्टान्शेषजीविनः ॥३९॥

मैताक्षरेषु किन्त्वद्य[२] संसृष्टेषु कुटुम्बिषु ।
कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्भागो याति तद्विधवां प्रति ॥४०॥

दायभागे तु संसृष्टाऽसंसृष्टेषूभयेष्वपि ।
कस्यापि मृत्यौ तद्दायो याति तस्योत्तरान् निजान् ॥४१॥

आत्मनो विधवा भार्या पुत्री माता पितामही ।
प्रपितामह्यपि पुनः पुंदायार्हाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥४२॥

वाराणस्यां तथा वङ्गे मिथिलायां सुनिश्चितम् ।
षडष्टाङ्कैकवर्षात्तद्दायाप्तिर्नियमेन[३] हि ॥४३॥

आर्येषु विहिता पौत्री दौहित्री च भगिन्यपि ।
दायाऽनर्हा सपिण्डेषु दायार्हा त्वधुना बुधैः ॥४४॥ (युग्मम्)

१. Quasi-severally. २. By the Act XVIII of 1937.
३. By the Hindu Law of Inheritance 1929 (Vikrama-Samvat 1986).

नूनमत्र महाराष्ट्रे[१] द्रविडे[२] चापराः स्त्रियः ।
बह्व्यो भवन्ति दायार्हा देशाचारादिभिः पुनः ॥४५॥

चतुर्नवाङ्कचन्द्राब्दस्वीकृतव्यवहारतः[३] ।
स्नुषाऽधवाऽथ[४] च स्वीया मृतपुत्रस्नुषाऽधवा[५] ॥४६॥

क्रमाद्वैयक्तिकेऽर्थेऽत्र श्वशुरस्याथ तत्पितुः ।
स्यातां सर्वत्र दायार्हे इति हिन्दुषु निश्चितम् ॥४७॥ (युग्मम्)

स्त्रीपुंसयोरुत्तरः स्याद् नरः पूर्णाधिकारवान् ।
सर्वत्रर्ते महाराष्ट्रं मिताधिकृतिकाः स्त्रियः ॥४८॥

स्वमृत्युकाले संपत्तेः पूर्णस्वामी तु यो नरः ।
स तदन्त्याधिकारी[६] स्यात्प्रभवश्चार्थभागिनाम्[७] ॥४९॥

स्त्रीणां मिताधिकारित्वात्तद्द्वयं नोपपद्यते ।
स्त्रीधनेऽथ महाराष्ट्रे क्वचित्तत्संभवो मतः ॥५०॥ (युग्मम्)

१. Bombay school.
२. Madras school.
३. By the Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act of 1937 A. D, (V. S. 1994)
४. विधवा पुत्रवधूः ।
५. विधवा मृतपुत्रसुतवधूः ।
६. Last full owner.
७. Fresh stock of descent.

Prākrta and Vernacular Verses in Dharmadāsa's Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana

By

SUKUMAR SEN, *Calcutta*.

Dharmadāsa's *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*[1], an elaborate treatise on *Prahelikā* poetry or enigmatology, contains 24 verses written partly or fully in *Prākṛta*, *Apabhraṃs'a* or *Avahaṭṭha-Vernacular*. The work has been referred to and quoted from in Sarvānanda's *Ṭīkāsarvasva*[2] (c. 1160), which indicates the lower limit of its compilation. It appears from the opening verse that Dharmadāsa was a Buddhist. There is nothing but the name to connect him with the commentator of Candragomin's grammar. It is quite probable that Dharmadāsa belonged to Bengal.

Dharmadāsa has recognised, besides Sanskrit, these five languages— *Prākṛta*, *Apabhraṃs'a*, *Māgadhika*, *Pais'ācika* and *Laukika*. His Prākṛta is *Māhārāṣṭrī* Prākṛta. *Apabhraṃs'a* instances are not all written in *S'aurasenī* Apabhraṃs'a; some verses and fragments are clearly written in *S'aurasenī* Prākṛta. Dharmadāsa's *Māgadhika* has invariably *l* < *r*; the other two characteristics, *ś* < *ṣ*, *s* and *e* < *aḥ*, appear sporadically. This may very well be scribal error, or it may be that Dharmadāsa included, *Ardhamāgadhī* in *Māgadhika*. *Pais'ācika* is the grammarians' *Pais'ācī*. *Laukika* is apparently the literary form of the contemporary speech which was hovering between *Avahaṭṭha* (i. e. late *Apabhraṃśa*) and the Vernacular. The difference between *Avahaṭṭha* and the Vernacular does not seem to have been great, otherwise there could not have been a mixture of the two in the *Laukika* verses. It may be mentioned here that the literary Vernacular in Bengal was known as *Laukika* right up to the middle of the sixteenth century.

I append below the edited text with translation of the 24 verses, written in pure or mixed M. I. A. and N. I. A. speeches, from the last two chapters of *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*. Alternative readings are given in footnotes.

1. Published in *Kavyakalapa* III (Haridas Hirachand, Bombay 1865) and in *Kavyasaṃgraha* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1872). The current Calcutta edition is practically a different book. In determining the text of the Prākṛta and Vernacular verses and portions, I have also consulted the following manuscripts: Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. no. Ka 151 and Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Mss. no. 79 and 80. The last Ms. contains the commentary by Kāyasthacūḍāmaṇi Tārācanda.

2. Published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (1914-1917).

A. Prakṛta

(i) Sanskrit and Prākṛta macaronic verses :—

1

Q. किं न स्यात् कीदृक्षं महतोऽपि तादृशस्य जलराशेः ।
दिण-मणि[1]-किरणप्फंसण-पलिबुद्धं[2] होइ किं गोसे ॥ III. 54

A. कमलवणं

'*What kind of thing is not there in such a vast sheet of water?*' '*Saltless water (kam a-lavaṇaṃ)*'. '*What is it that opens up in the morning at the touch of the sun (literally, the jewel of the day)?*' '*The lotus-bed (kamala-vaṇaṃ)*'.

2

Q. मत्स्यहितम् अम्बु कीदृक् पृच्छति रोगी निशासु किं भाति ।
कोऽनङ्गो वदति मृगः खे गम्मइ केरिसा रइणा ॥ III. 55

A. अविसामभमिरेण

'*How is water good for fish?*' '*Unfrequented by (water-) birds (avi)*'. *How is a sick man accosted?*' '*O diseased (man)! (sāma)*'. '*What does shine at night?*' '*A star (bham)*'. '*Who is Anaṅga (or bodyless)?*' '*iḥ*'. '*How is a stag called?*' '*eṇa*'. '*How does the sun move in the sky?*' '*By moving incessantly*' (*avi - sāma - bham - ir - eṇa = avisāmabhamireṇa < aviśrāma- * bhramireṇa*).

The active verb *pṛcchati* and *vadati* are used in the passive sense. This is no doubt Prākṛta influence, if not actual back formation or translation. See *pṛcchati* (13 ; 21).

(ii) Pure Prākṛta verses :—

3

Q. को णिवसइ स्वच्छंदं सुन्दरि[3] गिरि-गहण-कुञ्ज-मज्झम्मि ।
सह अज्जुणेण ज़ोद्धुं[4] सिहि-गमणो केरिसो होइ ॥ III. 64

A. सरहससवराहवग्गो

'*O beloved, who dwell at ease in the grottos within the depths of hilly forests?*' '*The host of śarabhas, hares, boars (saraha-sasa-varāha-vaggo < śarabha- śaśa- varāha- vargaḥ)*'. '*How does appear the rider of the peacock (i. e. Kārttikeya) when fighting Arjuna?*' '*Leading the host of staunch Śavaras in the battle front*' (*sarahasa- savara- āhavaggo < sarabhasa- śavara- āhavāgryaḥ*)'.

4

Q. का हरइ मणं पइणो गुण-गण-जोव्वण[5]-सलाहणिज्जस्स ।
कअ[6]-चडचडित्ति[7]-सद्दा हुआसना[8] केरिसा होन्ति ॥ III. 65

A. सरिसवहुआ[9]

'*Who wins the heart of a husband blessed with so many virtues and yonthfulness?*' '*A fitting bride (sarisa-vahuā < sadṛśa-vadhūkā)*'.

1. -श्चर- 2. -बुज्भं, -उज्भं, -उद्धं. 3. सुन्दर, मन्दर-. 4. जोज्भुं. 5. जुव्वण-. 6. कय—. 7. -चडेति-, -चडति-. 8. हुया-. 9. -वहुया.

'*When do fires crackle ?*' '*When mustard seed is thrown into them (sarisav hua < sarṣapa-hutāḥ)*'.

5

Q. दर-दिट्ठ-चूअ-मउलं पेच्छिअ[1] सहिआहिं विरहिणी-सहिअं।
णमिओ[2] कङ्केल्लि-तरु चूओ चरणाहओ कुओ ॥ IV. 12

'*Glancing at the blossoms of the mango tree and looking at their lovlorn friend why did the girls bend the kankelli plant but kick at the mang tree ?*'

6

Q. पेच्छंतं[3] अणिमिसच्छं पेच्छिअ[4] वहुआए[5] झत्ति भिक्खअरं[6]।
दंसिअ कआइं[7] सीसे कुओ दो जाइ-कुसुमाइं ॥ IV. 13

'*Seeing the beggar looking at (her) with steady eyes why did the your married girl quickly show two jātī flowers (to the beggar) and place the on (her) head?*'

7.

दाहिण[8]-पवणुव्विग्गा सम्मीलइ लोअणाइं पहिअ-वहू।
णिउण-सही उण तीए करेहिं कण्ण-विवराइं ढक्केइ ॥ IV. 21[9]

'*Being agitated by the Southern breeze the wife of the traveller shu her eyes ; her clever friend, at the same time, covers the lady's ears wit her hands.*'

B. *Apabhramśa*

(i) Sanskrit Apabhraṃs'a-S'aurasenī macaronic verses :—

8

Q. प्रायो बिभ्यति कीदृशाद् अरिगजाद् दन्तप्रहीणा गजाः
पृथ्वी सम्प्रति कीदृशी नृपतिना राजन्वती राजते।
प्रायः प्रावृषि कीदृशी गिरितटी धत्ते च कः कं जले
मज्झण्णे वलिए[10] घणच्चअ[11]-दिणे जादं सरो केरिसं ॥ III. 56

A. सरदादवताविदवाहिरं

'*From what sort of hostile elephants do non-tuskers generally fear*' '*From the tusker (sa-radāt)*'. '*How does the earth now prosper with wh kind of king ?*' '*By one who protects (the , people avatā)*'. '*How do the hill-side generally fare in the rainy season ?*' '*Free from forest fi (vi-davā)*'. '*Who does bear whom in water ?*' '*The serpent (ahiḥ) bea Viṣṇu (am)*'. '*In the mid-noon how does a lake appear on an autum day ?*' '*Made warm on the surface by the autumn sun (saradād-avatā vidavā-ahir-am = saradā-tavatāvida-vāhiraṃ < s'arad-ātapa-tāpita-bāhyam)*'.

9.

Q. कृत्तं कीदृशम् अङ्गं दन्तभवं कं वदन्ति विद्वांसः।

1. पिच्छिअ. 2. णमिउ. 3. पिच्छंतं. 4. पिच्छिअ. 5. वहुया, वहुयाभि. 6. भिच्छ 7. कयाइं, कआइ, कआभि. 8. डाहिण–. 9. काव्यसंग्रह (IV, 20). 10. वलिये. 11. घणुच्चय·

अति-लघु-वाचि पदं किं केरिसु सुअणेसु[1] होइ जणो ॥ III. 57

A. विस्संतमणु[2]

'How is chopped flesh ?' 'Raw-smelling (vissaṃ < visram)'. 'What part (i. e. term) do the scholars call dental ?' 'tam'. 'What is the word denoting very minute quantity ?' 'aṇu'. 'How does a man behave a good man ?' 'Trustful (vissaṃ-tam-aṇu = visraṃta-maṇu < vis'rāntamanas-)'.

(ii) Pure Apabhraṃs'a verses :—

10

Q. पाणिग्गहण-णीअंसणु सोहइ केहिं मण्डिउं[3] ।
साहसु वहु विर-पइणो रिउ-वलं कहिं[4] खण्डिउं[5] ॥ III. 66

A. समरङ्गणेहिं[6]

'Treated by what does a marriage garment appear resplendent ?' 'By uniform colouring (sama-raṅgaṇehiṃ)'. 'Say, young wife, where was the enemy host of your husband destroyed ?' 'In the battlefields (samara-aṅgaṇehiṃ)'.

11

Q. रसिअह[7] केण उव्वाडणु[8] किज्जइ जुअइह[9] माणसु केण उविज्जइ ।
तिसिअ-लोउ[10] खणु[11] केण सुहिज्जइ एहु[12] पण्हु[13] मह[14] भुअणे गिज्जइ ॥ III. 67

A. नीरसराएण

'How is a connoisseur disgusted ?' 'By harsh music (ṇirasa - rāeṇa < nīrasa-rāgeṇa)'. 'How is the mind of a young woman disturbed ?' 'By the absence of love sport (nī-rasarāeṇa < nī-rasarāgeṇa)'. 'How is a thirsty fellow satisfied in a moment ?' 'By a pot of water (ṇīra-sarāeṇa < nīra-s'arāveṇa)'. This my question (i. e. riddle) is proclaimed in the world.

C. Māgadhika

(i) Sanskrit and Māgadhī (also Ardhamāgadhī ?) macaronic verses :—

12

Q. किं सुखम् आहुः प्रायः केशविकारं च का हरेर् दयिता ।
कथम् आभा कस्मिन् निशि के[15] लुब्बइ वील-पुलिशाणं[16] ॥ III. 58

A. शमलकम्मालम्भे

'What do they generally call happiness ?' 'śam'. '(What do they call) crooked (or stray) hair ?' 'alakam'. 'Who is Hari's beloved ?' 'Lakṣmī (mā)'. 'How is brilliance ?' 'alam'. 'At what the night (begins) ? , 'With the appearance of the star' (bhe)'. 'What appeals to mighty men ?' 'A fighting engagement (s'am-alakam-mā-alam-bhe = s'amalu-kammā-lambhe < samara-karmārambhaḥ)'.

1. सुयणेसु. 2. Reading : विस्र-. 3. मण्डिअं. 4. केहिं. 5. खण्डिअं. 6. -णेहि. 7. रसिहस्स. 8. केणुच्चाडणु 9. जुअई. 10. -लोअ. 11. तिसिह-अलोअण केण. 12. एह. 13. Reading: पहु, पह, पन्न. 14. मम. 15. को. 16. वीलपुलिसाणं.

13

Q. क: स्तम्बेरम-सुत इति विख्यात: पृच्छति स्फुटं हारिण: ।
आहिणअ-णअली लञ्ञो[1] असाहुणो केण उज्जडइ[2] ॥ III. 59

A. कलभएण

'How is a young elephant called ?' '*kalabha- < karabhaḥ*'. 'How is a stag addressed unequivocally ?' '*eṇa.*' 'Why is a new city of a bad king deserted ?' 'For fear of the tax (*kalabhaeṇa = kala-bhaeṇa < kara-bhayena*)'.

Cf. *ujjaḍai* with Bengali *ujāṛ*. For the passive use of *pṛcchati* see before.

(ii) Pure Māgadhī (and Ardhamāgadhī ?) verses :—

14

Q. सुअलो[3] मेहं पुच्छइ पुच्छइ मेहो वि तं तहा सुअलं[4]।
केण हआ[5] सअल-सुआ[6] केण जणो विसइ पाआलं[7] ॥ III. 68

A. वलाहकाबिलेण

'The boar asks the cloud, and the cloud too similarly asks the boar. By whom were killed the sons of Sagara, ?' 'O boar, by Kapila (*valāha <varāha , Kabileṇa*)'. 'How does a man get into nether region ?' 'O cloud, through a hole (*valāhaka ! bileṇa*)'.

15

Q. धवलुज्जलेहिं केहिं[8] सोहइ धलणी[9] मसाण[10]-देसस्स ।
णलअस्स[11] लक्खावाला[12] केहिं पलिवेढिआ[13] होन्ति ॥ III. 69

A. नलकलंकेहि

'By what, white and bright, is the region of a cremation ground decorated (i. e. strewn with) ?' 'By the bones of men (*nala-kalaṅkehi < nara-karaṅkaiḥ*)'. 'By whom are the guards of hell surrounded ?' 'By the unfortunates of hell (*nalaka-raṅkehi < naraka-raṅkaiḥ*)'.

D. Paiśācika

(i) Sanskrit and Paiśāci (and Māhārāṣṭrī) macaronic verses. :—

16

Q. कोपारुणं किम् अरुणाग्रसरस्य पूर्व-काष्ठाग्रधिष्ठिततनोर् उपमानपात्रम् ।
पत्तं खणेण मरणं सअरस्स[14] रञ्ञो[15] पुत्तेहि किं पविसिउण्ण[16] तुरङ्गमत्थं ॥ III. 60

A. कपिलवणं

'What does, in anger, become ruddy like the sun (*literally*, *follower of dawn*) on the Eastern horizon ?' 'The face of a monkey (*kapi-lapaṇaṃ < kapi-lapanam*)'. 'Entering into what did the sons of the King Sagara meet death at once for the sake of the horse ?' 'The hermitage of Kapila (*kapila-vaṇaṃ < kapila-vanam*)'.

1. रण्णो, लन्नो. 2. उज्जलइ, उज्जुडइ ; असाहु लोके न उज्जलइ. 3. सुयलो. 4. सुयलं. 5. हया. 6. सयलसुया. 7. पायालं. 8. केहि. 9. धरणी. 10. ससाण-. 11. णिलअस्स. 12. लच्छावाडा, रक्खावाला, लच्छावाडा. 13. पलिवेड्डिआ, पलिवेठिआ. 14. सअलस्स. 15. रण्णं. 16. पविसिउण.

17

Q. कं प्रीणयान्ति जलदा: सैन्यं-कीदृक् पलायते समरात् ।
धत्ते शिरोधरा किं रुत्त-सिरं केरिसं होइ[1] ॥ III. 61

A. चातकङ्कातरंङ्कं

'Whom do the clouds satisfy ?' 'A cātaka bird (cātakam)'. 'What sort of army flees the battlefield ?' 'Frightened (kātaram)'. 'What does the neck support ?'. 'The head (kam)'. 'How is the head of Rudra ? 'Containing the waves of the Ganges' (cātakam-kātaram-kam = cāta-kaṃkā-taraṃkaṃ < jāta-gaṅgā-taraṅgam).

(ii) Pure Pais'ācī verses :—

18

Q. पेरी पुच्छति[2] ककणे राचति[3] कसणो खणो कहिं ।
कच्चाइं पि[4] ण केहिं[5] समप्पान्ति[6] सच्च-णिाहितं कताइं पि ॥ III. 70

A. आहितपरकेहिं

'The antagonist asks whereby does a dark cloud show off in the sky?' 'O evildoer, by the flying ducks (ahita ! parakehiṃ < ahita ! balākābhiḥ)' 'By whom are deeds not done though promised (to be done) ?' 'By hostile opponents (ahita-parakehiṇ < ahita-parakaiḥ)'.

19

Q. पत्तन किं फटचनो[7] निचतेहताना[8] अत्थासनं फचति चंफ-निसूतनस्स[9] ।
फोत्तून[10] खोरतरतुक्खसताइं पापा[11] मोहन्धकारकरणं[12] लप[13] किं लफन्ति[14] ॥ III. 71

A. पिसमरणं

'Finding what, did a warrior receive the half seat of Indra (literally, the slayer of Jambha), at the exchange of his own body ?' 'An unequal (or losing) fight (pisama[<viṣama]-raṇaṃ)'. 'Say, why do the evildoers get what leads to the confusing darkness after suffering hundreds of terrible punishments ?' 'Death by poison (pisa-maraṇaṃ < viṣa-maraṇam)'.

E. Laukika

(i) Sanskrit and Laukika macaronic verses :—

20

Q. को वर्णाद्य: क्र[15] जलधिसुता कं च दीर्घादिसंज्ञम्
प्राहुर् बुद्ध: कमजयदसौ तार्किकै: के क्रियन्ते ।
आमन्त्र्यो वि: कथय विदितं किं पदं हेतुवाचि
जा णच्चेउं[16] महइ[17] महिला सा-वि[18] वोल्लेइ कीसे[19] ॥ III. 62

A. अए[20] चम्मारं वादा वेहि

1. भोदि. 2. पुच्छदि, पुच्छइ. 3. रोच्चइ, रावति, वाअइ. 4. सच्चाइ.
5. कहिं. 6. समत्थन्ति. 7. भटअणो. 8. निधणे हताणं; हलाल. 9. Reading:—निसूदनस्स, निसूअणस्स.
10. भोत्तूण. 11. पावा. 12. —गहनं. 13. लय. 14. लहन्ति. 15. Reading : क च.
16. णच्चीए; जा णच्चेदुं. 17. इच्छइ. 18. सा—अ. 19. कीस, कास. 20. अरो.

'*What is the first (letter) of the alphabet ?' 'a'. 'where is Lakṣmī (literally, the daughter of the ocean)?' 'With Viṣṇu (e)'. 'What is the term whereby scholars indicate an initially long (word) ?' 'ecam'. 'Whom did the Buddha vanquish ?' 'The demon of temptation (māram)'. 'What are done by the logicians ?' 'Controversies (vādāḥ)'. 'A bird is to be addressed.' 've'. 'Say what is the best known word signifying causality ?' 'hi'. 'What does a girl say when she wants to dance ?' 'Hello, beat the drum (a-e-cam-māraṃ-vādāḥ-ve-hi = ae cammāraṃ vādāvehi < aye carmākāram vādaya).*

21

Q. शब्द: क: स्यात् पुरुषवचनं कुण्डलौ कौ स्मरारे:
काम् अम्भोधेर् हरिर् उदहरद् वीवध: पृच्छतीदम् ।
हाण्डी[1] कुण्डी आणोसि[2] ण वडा[3] कीस अंहार[4] अत्थं[5]
जे[6] पुच्छिल्ला[7] से[8] पुणु[9] परिहारुत्तरं[10] कीस देइ ॥ III. 63

A. नाही कुम्भार

'*What is the word denoting a male ?' 'nā'. 'What are the ear-ornaments of S'iva (literally, the foe of the god of love) ?' 'Two serpents (ahī)'. 'Whom did Hari rescue from the sea ?' 'The earth (kum)'. 'A carrier (of luggage) is thus addressed.' 'bhāra.' 'Fool, why did you not bring me (earthen) pots and bowls ?' — 'How does one thus rebuked make a reply in excuse ?' 'There is (or was) no potter (nā-ahī-kum-bhāra = nāhī kumbhāra < nāsīt kumbhakāraḥ)*'.

The answer is in good Old Bengali, *haṇḍī*, *kuṇḍī* is Bengali *hāṛi-kūṛi*. For *vaḍā* compare *vaṭa* in Apabhraṃs'a *dohās* of the Siddhā-cārya. For the passive use of *pṛcchati* see under III.55 above.

(ii) Pure Laukika verses :—

22

Q. जा णीआणइ[11] निंदे विभोत्ति[12] सा किं[13] वुच्चइ[14] बोल्ल रे संभालि[15] ।
जो तिल-सरिसव पोडइ घाणी[16] कीस भणिज्जइ सो विण्णाणी ॥ III. 72

A. सुतेल्ली

'*Say, friend, how is called the woman who, senseless in sleep, knows nothing ?' 'Asleep (sutellī < supta-illa-ikā)'. 'How is called the expert fellow who presses in oil-mill sesamum and mustrad seed ?' 'A good oilman (su - tellī < su - tailika)*'.

23

Q. नीरसउ[17] उण[18] बहु-गुणमन्तउ[19] भमइ निरन्तर[20] निच्चलु[21] होन्तउ[22] ।
तरु गिज्जइ णउ[23] फलु पत्तु[24] तसु जो परिजाणइ[25] पावइ से[26] जसु ॥ IV. 7

A. गुणरुक्खो

1. हराडी. 2. अणासि. 3. न वेटा, नरडा, न घरे. 4. आम्हार. 5. एत्थं एव्वं. 6. जो, यो, ये. 7. पुच्छिल्ला. 8. सो. 9. उण. 10. पुरुसा उत्तरं 11. नियाणइ; जा ण जघाणइ. 12. Reading: भिंभोला, भेम्भोलि, भेभालि. 13. कीस. 14. बोल्लइ. 15. Reading: संभरि, सम्भलि. 16. जाणी. 17. नीरसओ, नीरस, नीरसा. 18. पिसो. 19. –वन्तउ, –मन्तओ. 20. निरन्तरु. 21. निच्चल. 22. हुन्तउ, होन्तओ; होन्तु. 23. ण होइ. 24. फलयत्तु, फतपत्तु, फलुपत्रु. 25. जो नर जाणइ. 26. पावि सो जगि.

'Dry yet (it is) full of many virtues (or ropes); remaining fixed it is always on the move ; it is called a tree but has neither fruit nor leaf. He who solves (this riddle) gets credit. 'A mast (guṇavṛkṣaḥ)'.

The word *guṇarukkha* occurs in Sarvānanda's *Tīkāsarvasva.*

24

Q. घरि घरि[1] बुल्लइ[2] सअल-पिआरी[3] जीवन्ती वेरयरी सा हो[4] नारी।
बन्धइ[5] मुच्चइ[6] खणि[7] एकल्ली[8] तह जाणह[9] जह जाइ ण पेल्ली ॥ IV. 8

A. पासासारी

'Beloved of all she moves from house to house ; while alive the woman indeed creats enmity ; now she is checked, now released, now alone; know that she cannot move unless thrown.' 'Chess pieces (pāsāsārī < pāśaka-sārikā)'.

1. घर घर. 2. चल्लइ, चल्लिइ. 3. सयलपियारी. 4. जइ ओ वैरि सो अ ; होइ वैरिणी.
5. खणि (खणे) बज्झइ 6. खणि (खणे) मुच्चइ (मुक्कइ). 7. खणे. 8. एकेल्ली. 9. जानसु.

Interpretation of Passages from Mṛcchakaṭika

By

A. N. UPADHYE, *Kolhapur.*

In *Mṛcchakaṭika* we find plenty of Prākṛta passages, and because one and the same Prākṛta word, at times, can stand for more than one Sanskrit word, it is often made to be misunderstood by the other character, thus creating an occasion for light humour. More than once S'akāra misunderstands others.

(क) **वसन्तसेना**—(स ेधम्) संतं पावं। अवेहि, अणज्जं मंतेसि।

शकारः—(सहस्ततालं विहस्य) भावे भावे, पेक्ख दाव। अंतलेण शुशिणिद्धा एशा गणिआदालिआ णं, जेण मं भणादि एहि शंते शि किलंते शि त्ति। हगे ण गामंतलं गडे णगलंतलं वा ण गडे। अज्जुके, शवामि भावश्श शीशं अत्तणकेलकेहिं पादेहिं। तव जेव्व पश्चाणुपश्चिआए आहिंडंते शंते किलंते म्हि शंवुत्ते।[1]

When Vasantasenā meant s'ānta, S'akāra misunderstood it as s'rānta, and goes on to explain solemnly that he did not go to any other village or town and that he is tired and exhausted merely by running after her.

(ख) **भिक्षुः**—शाअदं। पशीददु उवाशके।

शकारः—भावे, पेक्ख पेक्ख। अकोशदि मं।

विटः—किं ब्रवीति।

शकारः—उवाशके त्ति मं भणादि। किं हगे णाविदे।

विटः—बुद्धोपासक इति भवन्तं स्तौति।[2]

Here the Bhikṣu, as it is expected of him, uses the word *upāsaka* in the sense of a Buddhist lay-follower, but S'akāra takes it in its etymological sense, a waiter, and therefore, a barber. Viṭa's rejoinder gives the necessary explanation.

Lastly, we come to one more passage which has presented some difficulty to the commentator :

(ग) **शकारः**—थुणु शमणका थुणु।

भिक्षुः—तुमं धणेो तुमं पुण्णेो।

शकारः—भावे, धणेो पुणेो त्ति मं भणादि। किं हगे शलावके कोश्टके वा।[3]

विटः—काणेलिमातः, ननु धन्यस्त्वं पुण्यस्त्वमिति भवन्तं स्तौति।

1. The *Mṛcchakaṭika,* ed. by Godabole, Bombay 1896, pp. 37, 38.
2. Ibid., pp. 314-15. Now and then I have accepted alternative readings.
3. Ibid. p. 315.

What the Buddhist monk means is made explicit by the remark of Viṭa, but what S'akāra understood and why he understood so are interesting points. On the speech of S'akāra we have a number of various readings; but I have accepted that reading which Lallā-dīkṣita has followed. The various corrupt readings show that the second part of S'akāra's remark is not understood by many. Pṛthvīdhara is silent, but Lallā-dīkṣita has tried to explain it thus:

भाव, धन्यः पुण्य इति मां भणति । किमहं शलावकः कोष्ठकं वा । शलावकश्चार्वाकः । कोष्ठकम् इष्टकादिनिर्मितं निपानं यत्र पशवः पिबन्ति पानीयं तत् । चार्वाको हि धन्यः । कोष्ठकं हि पुण्यमित्याशयः ।

The commentator's remarks *cārvāko hi dhanyaḥ*, and *koṣṭhakaṁ hi puṇyam ity ās'ayaḥ*, only shows that he is not on the right track.

The Bhikṣu is a Māgadhī speaker; he says: *tumaṁ dhaṇṇe, tumaṁ puṇṇe* (= *tvaṁ dhanyaḥ, tvaṁ puṇyaḥ* in Sanskrit), i. e. 'you are fortunate, you are meritorious'. S'akāra tells Viṭa that he is called by the Bhikṣu *dhaṇṇe puṇṇe* which I would render into Sanskrit as *dhānyena pūrṇaḥ*, i. e. 'full of corn,' and, as S'akāra understood it thus, naturally he retorts 'am I a vessel or granary (to be called 'full of corn')? S'akāra too is a Māgadhī speaker; so with both *puṇṇe* is mas. nom. sg., one taking it to stand for *puṇyaḥ* and the other for *pūrṇaḥ*. With the Bhikṣu *dhaṇṇe* is mas., nom. sg., standing for *dhanyaḥ*. S'akāra, possibly with slight nasalisation, takes it as inst. sg., standing for *dhānyena*. A form *dhaṇṇẽ*, inst. sg., is quite justified in Apabhraṃs'a. It only means that S'akāra understood that expression as current in popular parlance, and we know all along that the popular speech, which now and then affected the literary Prākṛta, has been the forerunner of what we later know as Apabhraṃs'a. This interesting case shows that at the time of the composition of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, the popular speech had already developed inst. sg. in *ẽ* which is now attested by the literary Apabhraṃs'a. The so-called Ḍhakki dialect, spoken by Māthura and Dyūtakāra, shows some traces of Apabhraṃs'a as well. This interpretation makes the whole context and S'akāra's remark quite sensible.